THE

LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION

OF

CARDINAL WOLSEY

PRINTED BY OLIVER & BOYD.



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BY JOHN GALT, ESQ.

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BOOK I.

DURING the predominance of the papal authority, all the nations of Europe formed, in reality, but one general state, in which the civil and military institutions were subordinate to the ecclesiastical. The submission yielded to secular superiors was modified by the various tenure of feudal property. No laws existed which the whole community was equally bound to maintain, but such as issued from the apostolical throne. By whatever names the provinces of Christendom were distinguished, empires, kingdoms, or republics, the people and their rulers alike acknowledged themselves subject to the pope. Royalty did homage to superstition; nor was the crown itself allodial, but held of the tiara.

II. The means by which the papal power was upheld and exercised were as wonderful as the ex-

tent of its prerogatives. A portion of mankind assumed privileges above the rights of the common race; and the humblest member of that class might aspire to supreme command. As inducements to submission, the priesthood promised, to all who would most slavishly obey their authority, rewards which the vicissitudes of life could not affect, and threatened with eternal penalties those who resisted or renounced their jurisdiction. Man surrendered his reason, and yielded a degree of implicit obedience to the pope, such as never existed under any other form of government. Thus the management of all concerns became intrusted to the officers of his holiness; and, in the fulness of the ecclesiastical usurpation, the clergy may be described as constituting the governing mind of the political body.

III. The long, bloody, and proscriptive wars between the royal families of York and Lancaster, reduced the ancient importance of England as a province of Christendom, and naturally gave a preponderance to military domination over an authority founded on opinion, at an era when the revival of philosophy was favourable to any diminution in the powers of the Roman theocracy. The restoration of peace and order was no doubt advantageous to the church; and under Henry VII. the clergy began to put forth again their former pretensions; but the people no longer regarded them with the veneration which they had once enjoyed. In the state, how-

ever, churchmen still attained the highest offices; but they were generally looked upon as the members of an order, arrogant by the possession of exorbitant privileges, averse to the social interests of mankind, and their conduct, in consequence, was investigated with a jealous and inquisitorial eye.

IV. The civil wars also tended to diminish the personal influence and manorial jurisdiction of the barons. Proscriptions led to changes in the possession of domains. The feudal tenants, accustomed to look upon the hereditary lord of the manor as their natural and rightful superior, viewed his removal as oppression, and considered his successors as usurpers. The ancient ties of connexion between the chief and the vassal were generally relaxed, and in many instances entirely dissolved. The nobles were divided into two factions; and, as the princes of York or of Lancaster alternately prevailed, each faction was in its turn doomed to suffer the vengeance of its rival. They found it necessary also to be more around the king than when the succession was not disputed :—His friends to maintain his cause—the moderate to avoid suspicion—and his adversaries to watch opportunities to promote the designs of their own faction. The splendour of the court was thus augmented; but the absence of the nobility from their castles weakened the whole structure of the feudal system which supported the oligarchy, and impaired for

ever that formidable power which had resulted from a constant intercourse of affection and authority between the lords and their vassals. The reign of Henry VIII. was not only the most magnificent in the annals of England, but also that in which the king exercised the greatest latitude of prerogative, and in which the nobility possessed the least influence. It was later before the full extent of the good, ordained to spring from the evil of the disputed succession, manifested itself among the people.

V. Although the court presented a scene of gorgeous pageantries unknown in any former period, the personal animosities and fierce altercations of the civil wars had produced among the courtiers rude and obstreperous manners. They indulged in a rough plainness of address, almost as different from the ceremonious courtesy of chivalry as the easy politeness which has since succeeded. England never exhibited such superb spectacles of knighthood as in the reign of Henry VIII.; but lists and tournaments were no longer regarded as courts of equity, nor the fortune of arms a more accurate criterion of guilt or of innocence than the verdict of civil tribunals. All the parade of chivalry was renewed; but the spirit had departed with the circumstances which had called it forth. To profess the sentiments which it had anciently inspired was not indeed ridiculous; but the vows and pageants, which added a gallant dignity to un-

lettered valour, ceased to be objects of serious concern, and were only imitated in exhibitions for the amusement of the king.

VI. The civil wars were not more favourable to the advancement of learning than to the authority of the nobility and the clergy. During the reign of Henry VI. polite literature had made some progress. His pacific disposition had led him to foster the arts which contribute to the pleasures of life; but from the date of his dethronement they began to decline, and the universities ceased to recognise the muses. What was called philosophy consisted in the agitation of logical subtilties, founded commonly on mere verbal distinctions, which sharpened without informing the understanding. The general notion entertained of science was of something infinitely beyond ordinary uses. It was wrapt up in language almost as mysterious as the Egyptian hieroglyphics; and nothing less was expected from it than a knowledge of future events, and the power of conferring wealth and immortality. In these vain pursuits many important facts, it is true, were ascertained; but they were passed over unheeded and unvalued. Divinity was the only study that tended to advance the progress of the public mind; and the art of printing favoured the prevalent bias of the age by multiplying the materials and excitements of controversy.

VII. Besides the civil wars, exterior events had

contributed to alter and expand the views of the English nation. The riches which Portugal had obtained by exploring the passage to India, inspired Spain with adventurous emulation; and her enterprises were rewarded by the attainment of a new world. This great achievement roused throughout Christendom a similar spirit. Avarice overcame ambition in the councils of princes; and sovereigns and subjects, alike eager to participate in the golden regions of the West, promoted the moral independence of man by cultivating the means of commerce. A new order was, in consequence, destined at this era to arise in society, by which, in time, the policy of nations, the motives of war, and the modes of rule, were to be radically changed. Hitherto the power of our kings had depended on their territorial possessions, and the influence of our nobles on the breadth and fertility of their estates; but the mercantile order, by gradual accumulation, has since attained an ascendency in the realm equal to that of the clergy and nobility, and reduced to its subserviency the prerogatives of the crown itself. In the reign of Henry VIII. this class had, it is true, not assumed any recognisable form; but the principles which, by subsequent development, induced all its importance, began to affect the undertakings and treaties of the government.

VIII. This state of the clergy and of the nobility, of manners, of learning, and of trade, afford-

ed ample scope for the exercise of an ambitious, resolute, and ostentatious mind. The following narrative is an attempt to delineate a character indisputably of this description, and to exhibit a view of the events by which that character was governed in a period full of great emergencies, and fraught with changes affecting the interests of the whole human race,—a period which, like the present momentous age, may be regarded as one of those vast occasional eddies, in the mighty current of human affairs, by which homes and inheritances are overwhelmed and swept away ; but which, as the violence subsides, never fail to leave behind inestimable riches for the use and improvement of mankind.

IX. Thomas Wolsey was born at Ipswich in the month of March 1471. His father, though of mean condition, possessed some property. Persuaded of the apt and active genius of his son, he sent him early to school, and destined him for the service of the church. Wolsey, at the age of fifteen, was a student in Oxford, and obtained the degree of bachelor of arts, which procured him at the university the name of the boy bachelor. Few so young, with all the advantages of rank and affluence, attained in that age academical honours. His great progress in philosophy and other learning having early procured for him a fellowship in Magdalen College, he was also appointed master of the school, and intrusted with the education of the

sons of the Marquis of Dorset. The proficiency which these young noblemen made under his tuition, and his own conversational accomplishments, displayed while passing the Christmas holidays with their father, so ingratiated him with the marquis, that he was rewarded with the rectory of Lymington in Somersetshire.

X. He was at this time burser of Magdalen College; but having, without a sufficient warrant, applied the funds to complete the great tower of the buildings, he found himself obliged to resign. The tower is still one of the ornaments of Oxford, and may be regarded not only as a specimen of his taste in architecture, but as a monument of that forward spirit and intrepid disrespect of precedents which he so amply manifested in greater affairs.

XI. His disposition, frank and social, often led him to scenes and enjoyments unbecoming the grave regularity of the ecclesiastical profession. He had not resided long at Lymington before he was found concerned in the riots of a fair in the neighbourhood; for which one of the justices of the peace subjected him to disgraceful punishment. Whether this was just or inconsiderate, it could not but serve to impair his respectability in the eyes of his parishioners. He therefore removed from Lymington, and was received as one of the domestic chaplains of Archbishop Dean. At the death of that prelate he went to Calais, where Sir John Nanfan, then treasurer, appointed him to

manage the business of his office. In this situation, Wolsey conducted himself with so much discretion, that Sir John was induced to exert his influence to procure him promotion, and succeeded in procuring him to be nominated one of the chaplains to the king.

XII. Wolsey, when he obtained this appointment, possessed many of those personal endowments which are often as effectual in advancing a young man as either virtue or talent. He spoke and acted with a generous assurance ; and that superiority of deportment, which, in the glare of his full fortune, was felt so like arrogance, seemed then only calculated to acquire and secure respect. In the performance of his duty, he had frequent opportunities of improving the impression of his exterior accomplishments ; and his advancement accompanied the development of his talents. The abbot of the rich monastery of St Edmund appointed him to the rectory of Redgrave, in the diocese of Norwich : Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who at that time held the privy seal, and Sir Thomas Lovel, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, also distinguished him by their friendship. They thought that his uncommon capacity might be usefully employed in state affairs ; and accordingly, while the treaty of marriage was pending between the king and Margaret the Dowager of Savoy, they proposed him as a fit person to be sent to her father, the Emperor Maximilian, on that business. His majesty had not before particularly noticed

Wolsey; but, after conversing with him, he was so satisfied with his qualifications, that he commanded him to be in readiness for the embassy.

XIII. The court was then at Richmond, from which Wolsey proceeded with his despatches to London, where he arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon. He had a boat waiting; and in less than three hours was at Gravesend. With post-horses, he got next morning to Dover, reached Calais in the course of the forenoon, and arrived the same night at the imperial court. The emperor, informed that an extraordinary ambassador had come from England, immediately admitted him; and the business being agreeable, was quickly concluded. Wolsey then returned, and reached Calais at the opening of the gates—found the passengers going on board the vessel that brought him from England—embarked—and about ten o'clock was landed at Dover. He reached Richmond the same night; and, after taking some repose, rose, and met the king as he came from his chamber to hear the morning service. His majesty, surprised at seeing him there, and supposing that he had not yet departed, rebuked him for neglecting the orders with which he was charged: "May it please your highness," said Wolsey, "I have been with the emperor, and executed my commission to the satisfaction, I trust, of your grace." He then knelt, and presented Maximilian's letters. Dissembling the admiration which he felt at such un-

precedented expedition, the king inquired if he had received no orders by a pursuivant who had been sent after him? Wolsey answered, that he met the messenger as he returned; but, having preconceived the purpose for which he was sent, he had presumed, of his own accord, to supply the defect in his credentials, for which he solicited his majesty's pardon. Pleased with this foresight, and gratified with the result of the negotiation, the king readily forgave his temerity, and commanded him to attend the council in the afternoon. Wolsey, at the time appointed, reported the business of his mission with so much clearness and propriety that he received the applause of all present; and, when the deanery of Lincoln soon after became vacant, it was bestowed on him by his majesty, who, from the period of that embassy, continued to treat him with particular favour.

XIV. It has been alleged that Bishop Fox, in order to counteract the power of the Earl of Surrey, who then monopolized almost the whole favour and patronage of the crown, was induced to avail himself of Wolsey's rising genius. Whatever were his motives, it may be inferred that the personal merits of Wolsey were beginning to awaken the envious apprehensions of that sordid race who ascribe the prosperity of others to any cause rather than to the efforts of ability, and to whom talents form a matter of offence.

XV. Wolsey had not long been dean of Lincoln when Henry VII. died, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, then in the eighteenth year of his age. The claims of the rival families of York and Lancaster were united in the person of Henry VIII. He also inherited from his father greater treasures than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed. Nor was he less distinguished by the gifts of nature than by those of fortune. His figure was eminently handsome; his spirit courageous; and his temper, though hot and arbitrary, was open and generous. During the life of his elder brother, Prince Arthur, he was intended for the church; and to the effects of this design historians have ascribed his erudition, and the personal share which he took in the controversies of the Reformation. He delighted in magnificent spectacles, and was passionately fond of equestrian and athletic exercises—amusements to which the princes and nobles of England have ever been partial. At his accession he was calculated by his person and manners to attract the admiration and affections of the multitude; and by his knowledge and capacity to obtain the esteem and indulgence of the discerning few. By the judicious advice of his grandmother, he selected for ministers those counsellors of his father who were the most respected for their caution and wisdom. And no money being required from the people, the affairs of the kingdom

were managed with discretion and popularity. The state of Europe was also at this time auspicious to the prosperity of England.

XVI. The Emperor Maximilian, with a view to secure to his family Burgundy and the Netherlands, which he held only in right of his wife, courted the alliance of the young king. His advances were favourably received; for it was thought that Henry VII. had not acted with his usual perspicacity by acquiescing in the cession of those opulent territories to a potentate already the greatest in Christendom; and that their entire annexation to the dominions of Austria ought still to be resisted. Louis XII. of France was at war with several of the Italian states, and was endeavouring to incorporate with his kingdom Bretaigne, which he had obtained by marriage with the heiress; a marriage which Henry VII. was equally blamed for having suffered to take place without opposition. Ferdinand of Arrogan, who, by marrying Isabella of Castile, and by expelling the Moors from Grenada, became sovereign of all Spain, had reasons no less powerful for maintaining an intimate alliance with England. His daughter, Katherine, was the queen of Henry VIII. The inducements which had led to this connexion were strengthened by uncertainties in his political relations with the French king, and by peculiar circumstances in the matrimonial condition of Kathe-

rine. She had been first married to her husband's elder brother. After his death, a questionable license had been obtained from the pope, and under it her second marriage was completed. James IV. of Scotland had married Henry's eldest sister. At the close of the late reign a slight coolness had, however, arisen between the courts of Edinburgh and London, occasioned by the preference which Scotland, according to ancient policy, gave to the views of France; but no serious hostility was apprehended, and the congeniality between the characters of the two monarchs seemed likely to draw them into particular friendship.

XVII. No schism had yet, to any apparently dangerous extent, disturbed the concord of Christendom. Savonarola, who had ventured to attack the enormities of the papal administration of Alexander VI. was destroyed at Florence. By his death, the seeds of a reformation, similar to that which afterwards spread with such rapidity in Germany, were in Italy totally exterminated. The inhabitants of that branch of the Alps which stretches towards the Pyrenees had, indeed, separated themselves from the church of Rome; but they were a simple people, and held little intercourse with the rest of Christendom. In Bohemia a few followers of John Huss and Jerome of Prague preserved rather than asserted their principles. In England, from the days of Wickliffe, many had disliked the

Roman pretensions; but they were in general of humble rank, unconnected, and only united in enmity against the ignorant and luxurious clergy.

XVIII. At this period Wolsey was in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Although a priest, he frequented the entertainments of the young courtiers, of which he partook with the gayety of secular freedom. One of his Oxford pupils had succeeded to the marquisate of Dorset, and was an intimate companion of the king. In his company Wolsey probably obtained opportunities of studying the temper and inclinations of his royal master, and of recommending himself to his favour by the knowledge of public affairs, which, in the midst of pleasure and dissipation, he dexterously took occasion to display. Riches and honours flowed upon him. In the first year of Henry he received a grant of lands and tenements in London, was admitted to the privy council, and appointed almoner. Soon after the king gave him the rectory of Torrington, made him canon of the collegiate church of Windsor, and registrar of the order of the Garter. Archbishop Bambridge appointed him to be a prebendary in the cathedral of York, (1512,) where he was soon advanced to the deanery. And the pope, informed of his increasing ascendency over the monarch, allowed him to hold benefices to the amount of two thousand merks annually, though consisting of more than three parochial churches, if a precedent for such a dispensation could be

found in the records of England. But no particular office in the state was committed to his charge until after the French war, (in 1513,) of the origin and principal events of which it may not here be improper to give a brief relation.

XIX. The restless and turbulent Julius II., in the prosecution of his ambitious temporal designs, had involved himself in continual quarrels with several of the Italian states; and by his imperious conduct had produced a rebellion even in the consistory itself. The cardinals who disapproved of his violence, and whom he had excommunicated, called a council, which assembled at Tours under the protection of Louis XII. They resolved that the sentence of excommunication against them was void; and that a monitory message should be sent to the holy father, in the hope of inducing him to act with more moderation and justice. They also agreed that, in the event of their message being contemned, he should be called before a general council. Julius despised their admonition, and treated their message with contempt. They, in consequence, proceeded to give effect to their resolutions, and summoned him to appear at Pisa. Until this decisive step, Maximilian had sided with the schismatic cardinals; but, as they had begun to manifest an undue predilection for the interests of France, he availed himself of it, to separate from the confederacy, and to join the pope.

XX. Julius, in the mean time, finding that the

force which Louis had sent into Italy, for the ostensible purpose of supporting the cause of the cardinals, but in reality to gain conquests for France, was making rapid progress, anxiously endeavoured to secure the assistance of England. For this purpose, as a mark of high favour, he sent to the king a golden rose, with the papal benediction, and a letter, filled with complaints against the unprincipled aggressions of the most Christian king. In this letter he employed every topic of persuasion that he thought likely to influence the young and ardent mind of Henry. He invoked him by the mercies of Christ, by the merits of his own famous ancestors, and by his duty to the church, to join in the league against the French and cardinals, offering the distinguished honour of declaring him the chief and protector.

XXI. Independently of the gratification which Henry received from the pope's letter, and the mark of distinction which accompanied it, ambition prompted him to seek an opportunity of signalizing himself. Bearing the title of King of France, he was desirous of asserting the rights which that title implied. Besides personal considerations, there were public and more solid reasons to justify war with France.—Louis heightened the dissension between the pope and the cardinals for his own particular advantage. It was suspected that his enmity to Julius arose from a wish to place a creature of his own in the apostolical chair, and

therefore it was thought not only pious, but also prudent policy for England to interfere, in order to prevent the violation of the church, and the aggrandisement of her ancient rival, by the acquisition of new territories in Italy. The English ministers accordingly (1512) decided on war. An embassy was sent to Louis, requiring him to desist from hostilities. He disregarded the request. A herald was then despatched in form, to declare the ancient claims of the English kings to the crown of France, and to demand restitution of Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and Mayne, as the patrimonial inheritance of Henry. War ensued. The king resolved to invade France in person, in conjunction with Maximilian. The commissariat of the army destined for this great undertaking was committed to Wolsey. The office was certainly little consonant to his profession and former pursuits; but it was the character of this singular man to be equally fit for every kind of business, and the duty was performed to the satisfaction both of the army and of the king.

XXII. The forces amounted to fourteen thousand men. Being joined by the imperialists, they proceeded to invest Terouenne in Artois, a town defended by a deep ditch, bulwarks, and heavy ordnance. The king soon arrived at the camp, where the emperor, assuming the red cross of St George, in his capacity of a knight of the garter, received a hundred crowns a day as the soldier of

Henry. Terouenne was not at first so closely invested but that, on the side towards the river Lys, a way was left open by which succours might be thrown in. The French resolved to take advantage of this oversight. Accordingly, Louis, who lay at Amiens with about twenty thousand men, sent forward a large detachment of cavalry; but before they had reached the scene, the allies had drawn their lines closer, and debarred all access to the town. The French abandoned their enterprise, and retreated. When they thought themselves out of danger, some among them, impatient of the heat, took off their helmets; others dismounted from their horses, and the whole fell into a state of disorder that invited surprise. In this condition they were surrounded by a party sent in pursuit of them. Though they boasted of possessing many of the best warriors of France, the rout and confusion became irresistible. The Duke of Longueville, Bayard, Fayette, Clermont, and Bussy d'Ambois, were made prisoners in the pursuit. This singular encounter received the appropriate appellation of the battle of the Spurs. Terouenne immediately surrendered, and the king, with the emperor as his vassal, made a triumphal entry on the 24th of August 1513. Maximilian then left the army, and Henry, having ordered the fortifications to be destroyed, laid siege to Tournay. Though that town was of no great extent, the peasantry, by flying to it for shelter,

had increased the population to no less than eighty thousand souls. Famine soon followed; a capitulation was inevitable; and the King of England was speedily admitted to the sovereignty. A new bishop had lately been nominated to the see, but not installed. Henry, conceiving that he had acquired by conquest a right to dispose of the bishopric, gave it to Wolsey—a proceeding contrary to the rules of the church, and which afterwards occasioned much vexation and trouble to them both.

XXIII. While the army lay before Terouenne, the lion of Scotland, in his herald's garb, arrived in the camp, and demanded an audience of the king. The purport of this ceremonious message was to obtain reparation for injuries alleged to have been suffered by the Scots, with a provisionary declaration of war, if satisfaction should be refused. Henry, justly considering that James was instigated to this measure by the French, who were anxious that war should be declared by Scotland, in order that the English army might be withdrawn from France, to defend the kingdom at home, returned a sharp and reproachful answer. "Now," said he to the herald, "we perceive the King of Scots, our brother-in-law, and your master, to be the same sort of person that we always took him to be. Notwithstanding his oath, his promise on the word of a king, and his own hand and seal, to his perpetual dishonour and infamy, he intends, in our absence, to invade our domi-

nions, an enterprise which he durst not attempt were we there in person. But he has not degenerated from the qualities of his ancestors, who, for the most part, ever violated their promises, nor observed their contracts farther than pleased themselves; therefore tell your master, that he shall never be embraced in any league in which we are a confederate; and also that, suspecting his intentions, and justly, as the deed now shows, we have left behind us one able to defend England against him and all his power. We have provided for this; and he shall not find our realm so defenceless as he expects. Tell him that we are the very owner of Scotland, which he holds of us by homage; and since, contrary to his bounden duty as our vassal, he presumes to rebel, we shall, at our return, with the help of God, drive him from the kingdom." The herald, astonished and abashed at this lofty and impassioned address, replied, "As the natural subject of King James, I am bound to deliver boldly whatever he commands; but the orders of others I cannot, nor dare I say to my sovereign. Your highness's letters may declare your pleasure, but I cannot repeat such expressions to my king." Henry, assenting to the propriety of the objection, ordered the herald to be entertained according to the usages of chivalry, and summoned a council to consider the message of the Scottish king, and the answer which it might be expedient to return. The result was, a letter, in

effect the same as the verbal declaration; and the herald, after receiving a liberal largess, left the camp, and proceeded, by the way of Flanders, to take his passage to Scotland. While he waited for a favourable wind, the fate of his master was consummated in the fatal battle of Flodden—an event which the Scottish nation have never ceased to deplore, in the finest strains of their poetry and music.

XXIV. The war had commenced by the Earl of Hume crossing the borders with his clan and other forces, to the number of seven or eight thousand men. Sir William Bulmer, who had been apprised of this inroad, posted his troops, in ambush, among the deep broom of Tillfield, and defeated the Scots, as they returned encumbered with booty. Meanwhile, King James was collecting the whole power of Scotland; and the Earl of Surrey, intrusted with the defence of England, marched to Alnwick. The Scottish king approached towards the Cheviot hills, the ancient scene of the hostile exploits of the two nations; and Surrey, being reinforced, advanced to meet him, where he had encamped on the heights of Flodden. The Scots were greatly superior in numbers to the English, and equal in valour, skill, and discipline. But numbers, and bravery, and skill, weighed light in the balance against the destiny of the Stuarts. For, by one of those extraordinary and infatuated errors so frequent in the history of that unfortu-

nate family, the king left the high ground, and his army was, in consequence, totally defeated and ruined in the hollow below. Towards the evening he was himself discovered fighting, with undaunted constancy, in the vortex of the battle. His standard was, soon after, struck down. Tossed like a wreck on the waves, it floated and disappeared. Made desperate by inevitable ruin, James rushed into the thickest throng of the spears and arrows, and was never seen to return. Next morning a body was found, which so strongly resembled that of the king, that it was considered as his. Surrey ordered it to be embalmed, and it was sent to the monastery of Shene; but, as James had died under a sentence of excommunication, the rites of Christian burial could not be performed without permission from the pope. The news of the victory was communicated to Henry by the Earl of Surrey, and to Wolsey by Queen Katherine. From her letter, it appears that Wolsey enjoyed the full confidence of his master; and, therefore, may be regarded as already participating in his intentions, and influencing both the man and the king.

XXV. The intelligence of this signal triumph was received by Henry with great exultation, at the same time that he was deeply affected by the death of James. He applied immediately to the pope, to revoke the sentence of excommunication, in order that the body might be interred in St

Paul's in London, with the honours and solemnities due to the remains of so august and gallant a knight. The dispensation was readily granted; but doubts arising whether the Scottish king was actually slain in the battle, and it being reported that the body found on the field was not really his, the funeral was never performed. The corpse which Surrey brought from Flodden was seen, long after, lying in a waste room in the monastery to which it had been conveyed.

XXVI. The Scottish nation, astonished and afflicted by so great a calamity, scarcely made any preparations for the defence of the country; but the English government had the magnanimity to grant peace without stipulating for any advantage. This unprecedented liberality had the effect of forming a party, among the Scottish chieftains, favourable to England, and averse to the policy which had, for so many ages, involved their country in the projects and misfortunes of France.

XXVII. After the taking of Tournay, Henry returned home with all that could recommend a sovereign to the affections of a proud and martial people. He had maintained, on the plains of France, the ancient renown of England; the regency had been still more victorious, and the people, in the full enjoyment of prosperity, exulted at so many proofs of national pre-eminence.

XXVIII. Soon after the king's return, the bishopric of Lincoln happened to become vacant,

and it was given to Wolsey; who, in taking possession, found his wealth augmented by the moveables of his predecessor. He had been scarcely invested with this new honour, when York also became vacant, and he was advanced to the archiepiscopal dignity.

XXIX. In the mean time, Pope Julius II., the incendiary of Christendom, had died, and was succeeded by the celebrated Leo X. who, with more urbanity of temper, was no less zealous in asserting the pretensions of the church. He opposed the ambition of France with undiminished vigour, and cultivated the friendship of England by the same arts as his predecessor. On ascending the apostolic throne, he consecrated a cap and a sword, and sent them addressed to Henry as the most Christian king. This title, being peculiar to the French monarchs, was received by Henry as an omen and assurance of ultimate success in establishing his claims to the crown of France.

XXX. But the conduct of Maximilian and Ferdinand, in the war, had dissatisfied the English government. Louis, apprized of this change, secretly made overtures of peace. The continuance of hostility afforded him, indeed, no prospect of advantage. Two of his principal frontier towns were taken, the flower of his army were prisoners, and the remainder dejected with many defeats. His trustiest confederate, James, was no more; and the administration of Scottish affairs had de-

volved on Henry's sister, Margaret, the queen dowager. He was himself old, and unable to undergo the fatigue of longer waging war against the three greatest princes in Europe, combined with the pope, who had abandoned him to the vengeance of all Christendom, as an odious schismatic. He, therefore, became desirous of reconciliation with his enemies.

XXXI. The Duke of Longueville, a prisoner in England, was authorised to negotiate with the court of London. Louis being a widower, the overtures commenced by a proposal of marriage for him with Mary, Henry's younger sister. The offer was honourable to the nation, and Wolsey so exerted himself in the negotiation, which was secretly managed, that it was completed before the Spanish and imperial ambassadors were aware of its being even in progress. Henry was allowed to retain Tournay; was to be paid a million of crowns, arrears of tribute due to his father and himself; and his sister was to enjoy a jointure as large as that of any former Queen of France.

XXXII. The princess, conducted to Paris, was received with every external demonstration of welcome. In the bloom of life and beauty, Mary united to the spirit of her brother, and her sister Margaret, a delightful and gay irreverence for the ceremonious distinctions of her rank. In the decay of old age, Louis, incapable of enjoying the blandishments of his young queen, was teased and

disturbed by the sallies of her vivacity. The attendants, who came with her from England, were dismissed; even the lady who had been recommended by Wolsey, to assist her with advice, was not allowed to remain. The revelries, however, of the wedding were scarcely over, when she was released from her bondage by the death of Louis, who was succeeded by Francis I.

XXXIII. Mary, soon after this event, informed her brother, that, having been once married for policy, she ought now to be allowed to choose for herself; and that, rather than be controlled, she was resolved to become a nun. The Duke of Suffolk was the object of her partiality, and she did not affect to conceal her passion. He had been sent to condole with her on the death of her old husband; and she told him, unless he resolved to marry her in four days, he should not have a second offer. The attachment seems to have been known in France before the death of Louis; for Francis, on the day of the duke's first audience, informed him, that it was understood he had come to Paris, in order to marry the dowager. History affords few demonstrations stronger than this of the miserable marriages to which such illustrious personages are subjected.

XXXIV. A singular incident occurred at this juncture, which served to show the opinion entertained among the commonalty of Wolsey's excessive influence over the mind of Henry. An en-

thusiastic friar went from London to Paris, and, obtaining an audience of Mary, told her gravely, it was rumoured in England, that she intended to marry the Duke of Suffolk. "Of all men," said the friar, "beware of him; for I can assure you, that he and Wolsey have dealings with Satan, by which they rule the king for their own ends." The marriage, notwithstanding, was speedily solemnized; but Henry was offended at the indecorous precipitation of the widow; his anger was not however, inveterate, for Wolsey easily persuaded him to forgive the gallant presumption of his own particular friend, and the juvenile levity of a favourite sister.

XXXV. In the forty-fifth year of his age (22d December, 1515,) Wolsey was advanced to the rank of cardinal, and was installed in Westminster Abbey, with circumstances of pomp seldom exceeded at the coronations of the kings. About the same time the great seal was given to him for life, with the dignity of chancellor of the realm. Henceforth he may therefore be regarded as the controller of England; for, although the king appeared afterwards, personally, in every important transaction, the cardinal had acquired such an ascendency, that the emanations of the royal will were, in fact, but the reflected purposes of the minister.

BOOK II.

When Wolsey was appointed prime minister of England, the affairs of Europe were rapidly advancing towards a new epoch, and society was pregnant with great events. The intercourse among the different nations was every day becoming more active and multifarious. Besides the concerns of peace or of war, the interests of commerce began to press upon the attention of statesmen; venerable doctrines were falling into disrepute; and the circulation of knowledge, extending by the art of printing, rendered it no longer possible to misrepresent the effects of political actions. The proclamation of occurrences at the market crosses of the towns, and the promulgation of new laws in the parochial churches, were the only means by which the English people were anciently informed of the proceedings of their government. The conduct of those therefore, who had the management of public affairs, must have been flagitious indeed, when it was incapable of being disguised. But, at this period, state delinquencies could no

longer be practised with impunity. The press had multiplied the illuminating agents of truth. It was not enough, that the minister should study to please only the sovereign and his parasites: the people also expected to be gratified, and generally in things obnoxious to the court. This alteration in the ancient system of rule, little as it was at first perceptible, has since, insensibly, obliged the ministers of England to study the will of the nation more than the predilections of the nobles and of the king.

II. Francis I., with the usual titles of the French monarch, assumed, at his accession, that of Duke of Milan; having a double claim to the duchy, as the heir of the house of Orleans, which had pretensions to the inheritance, and as comprehended in the investiture which had been made according to the treaty of Cambray. Succeeding to the means of asserting his claim, he early resolved to make it good, and to vindicate the glory of France, which had been tarnished by the enterprises of his predecessor. In the prosecution of this design, his success rendered it doubtful, whether England ought to permit the farther aggrandisement of her rival. Frequent rumours also of stratagems for the recovery of Tournay irritated Henry, who was vain of his own conquest, and these were regarded as the precursors of actual aggression. An extraordinary council was, in consequence, summoned to deliberate on the state of Christendom,

and the existing relations with France; and Wolsey opened the business, by recapitulating various causes of complaint which the king had against the conduct of Francis.

III. Several English vessels have been plundered by the French cruisers, and indemnity, said he, cannot be obtained. Rich property belonging to the king's sister is withheld on evasive pretences. The Duke of Albany has assumed the regency of Scotland, and Francis supports him contrary to an express agreement, and in contempt of the will of the deceased sovereign, by which the queen had been appointed regent; an appointment confirmed by the pope. The usurpation of Albany is dangerous to the king's nephew, James V., for he is suspected of aspiring to the throne, and has induced the nobles to take an oath of allegiance to himself, inciting them to enmity against England. Nor is the personal conduct of Francis such as becomes the honour of a king. He openly protects Richard de la Pole, a fugitive English traitor. But if all these distinct and palpable grievances be not sufficient to induce England to interfere with the proceedings of France, prudence, prospectively considering the effects of the conquests in Italy, requires that their extension should not be permitted. The existing circumstances, however, do not call for actual war. It is not necessary that the blood of England should be shed; but the French must be compelled to act justly, and to restrain their

appetite for dominion.—By assisting the pope and emperor with money only, the objects of a wise and anticipating policy will be effectually attained.

IV. In opposition to the proposal of Wolsey, it was urged, that to recommend the violation of treaties was a strange doctrine. When just causes arise for the dissolution of compacts, the injured party ought to protest against the aggressor, before proceeding to war. If any other course is allowed, the law of nations must be sacrificed, and the dealing of kings become destitute of integrity. The conduct of Francis may have been justly represented, but his actions are capable of a different explanation; and it is necessary, therefore, to examine them with circumspection. He entertains Richard de la Pole generously; but whether because he is an English traitor, or only a volunteer seeking employment, seems at least doubtful. To his interference with the affairs of Scotland it is easy to apply an adequate remedy. If Albany be dangerous to the rights of James V. and his mother, let the king protect them; but seek not, by subsidies, to kindle into fiercer strife those remote wars, of which the issue cannot be known.

V. The allegations of Wolsey did not justify actual hostilities, but they furnished a sufficient pretext for the measure he proposed. The pope and emperor were apparently unable to resist the progress of the French arms. If Henry showed

himself partial to their side, Francis might be induced to agree to terms favourable to the independence for which they contended. The violation of public engagements, by frank or by secret dealing, is undoubtedly contrary to all the theoretical principles of morality; but the guilt of the governments, whose designs and practices render such violations expedient, is deeper than the delinquency of those whom they provoke to the crime. France had not, perhaps, really transgressed the terms of any existing treaty, but she had so acted, that England could no longer with safety remain neutral.. The duration of national contracts is always contingent. The circumstances of a government may become so changed, as to make it virtually no longer the party which originally contracted. If France had acquired dominions, which she did not possess at the time of concluding her treaties with England, while the condition of England was in no respect altered, the jealousy of national independence warranted the English to seek the reduction of the French power. The great, the only duty of governments, is to preserve the interests of their subjects; nor can any alteration arise in the affairs of other states, which they ought to regard with indifference.—The English counsellors were satisfied, that the relative condition of France and England called for an alteration in the conduct of the latter; and a system of menacing neutrality was in consequence adopted.

VI. The war in Italy, between the emperor and the French king, was prosecuted with various success. Maximilian, in order to draw Henry into a more available alliance than the degree of countenance which the council had adopted, proposed that the French should be dispossessed of Milan, and that it should be feudally annexed to the English crown. This proposal, like all his schemes, was not without a show of plausibility. He conceived that a barrier, for the protection of Italy, would thereby be formed, which France could not afterwards force without incurring the hostility of England. Henry's right to several provinces of France was as indisputable as that of Francis to Milan; and this scheme seemed to promise a mode of adjusting their respective claims. Maximilian also offered to resign the empire in favour of Henry; but his character and actions were not calculated to gain confidence. His projects were generally extravagant, and his enterprises never guided by the perseverance and energy requisite to ensure success. The king and the cardinal only listened to the proposition with grave civility, and, therefore, he sought a reconciliation with Francis. This was the more easily accomplished, as a crusade against the Turks was loudly preached throughout Christendom, and the French monarch was represented as the prime cause of all the troubles in the seat and region of the papacy, by which this holy purpose was delayed. It was, in-

deed, not without rational alarm, that the attention of the Christians was turned towards the aggressions of the infidels, and the fierce ambition of the reigning sultan.

VII. The history of Selim may be comprehended in a few sentences. It consists but of battles and crimes. Understanding that his father designed to settle the empire on another son, he rebelled, and, by corrupting the janisaries, obliged him to abandon the throne. To secure his usurpation he did not scruple to commit parricide. His brother, who had taken up arms against him, was vanquished, and put to death, with all the children of the same maternal stock. He subdued the Aladolites, and, descending from their mountains upon Persia, he defeated the sophy, and took possession of Touris. Returning to Constantinople, he spent several months in tyranny and preparations for new aggressions. His avowed object was the complete subjugation of Persia, but he suddenly turned upon the soldan of Egypt,—a prince of ancient dignity; highly venerated by the professors of the Mahommetan faith; powerful by the opulence of his dominions, and by the military order of the Mamelukes, who had maintained their independence, with great lustre, upwards of three hundred years.

VIII. The soldanic government was elective; and none were advanced to the dignity of soldan, but men who had passed through all the grada-

tions of military rank to the rule of provinces, and the command of armies, and who had uniformly proved their valour and wisdom. The Mamelukes, by whom the soldan was elected, and of whose order he was necessarily a member, were formed from children, originally, chosen for the vigour of their appearance, and reared to manhood with frugal diet and the continual exercise of arms. Their number did not exceed eighteen thousand; but such was the excellence of their skill and management, that all Egypt, Syria, and many of the neighbouring nations, submitted to their sway; and they had sometimes proved victorious over the numerous Ottoman armies.

IX. Selim subdued this formidable state, and consigned many of the members to ignominious deaths, as if the defence of their independence had been a municipal crime. When he had made himself master of Cairo, the Christian princes were not alarmed without reason. To vast resources and audacious courage he united an enthusiastic desire of transmitting to posterity a heroic name. He had studied the actions of Alexander and of Cæsar, and repined at the inferiority of his own exploits. Indefatigable in the improvement of his soldiers, and continually augmenting his navy, Christendom attracted and modified his schemes. The rumour of his success, and the dread of his designs, agitated the pontifical court. Prayers resounded in all the churches of Rome. Leo edified

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the faith of the populace, by walking barefoot in the processions; and the aid of human helps and means was solicited directly, as well as by the agency of the saints.

X. Briefs were addressed to all Christian princes, admonishing them to lay aside their particular quarrels, and, with united hearts and hands, to carry war into the dwelling of the infidel. Consultations were held with travellers acquainted with the provinces, with the dispositions of their inhabitants, and the forces of the Turkish empire; and a wide and general arrangement of all the array of Christendom was planned, and communicated to the governments of the different states subject to the papal domination. The emperor, with the horse and foot of his dominions, was to proceed by the Danube, and through Bosnia, towards Constantinople. The French king, with the armies of France, Venice, and the other Italian states, accompanied by the Helvetic infantry, was to transport himself from Brindisi to Greece,—a country full of Christians impatient to revolt from the sultan. The kings of Spain, Portugal, and England, uniting their fleets at Carthagena, were to sail directly to the Dardanelles, while the pope, in person, proceeded from Ancona, to join the forces as they invested Constantinople. Against such a coalition there was good cause to hope that Selim would be unable to defend himself; and a crusade, thus intended to cover the sea and land, could not

fail to have a speedy and triumphant end. In the meantime, a tax was levied on all Christians, and voluntary contributions were earnestly solicited to promote the undertaking.

XI. Preparatory to the execution of this great project, Leo enjoined a truce, on all his secular vassals, for five years, under penalty of the most grievous censures; and cardinals, of distinguished address, in order to further the business, were appointed legates to the different courts. Campeggio was sent to London. But he was informed at Calais, that he must remain there until Cardinal Wolsey was joined with him in the commission. This obstacle being removed by compliance, he landed in England. As his retinue was mean, and himself not opulent, Wolsey sent him twelve mules, and a quantity of scarlet cloth, in order that the pomp of his entrance into the metropolis might, in some degree, correspond with the importance attached to his mission. The rational few may ridicule the artifices of ostentation; but the numerous commonalty cannot easily conceive that magnificence does not possess an intrinsic moral value; nor how things, on which their superiors in knowledge bestow so much attention ought not to deserve respect. In every town through which Campeggio passed he was greeted with great veneration. On Blackheath he was met by a train of prelates, nobles, and gentlemen. The clergy of London received him in the borough with all their

processional paraphernalia. The livery of London lined the streets; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen humiliated themselves before him; and Sir Thomas More, in the name of the city, welcomed his arrival in a Latin oration. Such expressions of devotion to the pontifical government afforded Campeggio the highest delight. But, unfortunately, as the procession passed through Cheapside, a mule became restive, and threw the whole pageantry into confusion. The trunks and coffers, which had been covered with the scarlet gift of Wolsey, and which the people piously imagined were filled with precious presents to the king, and pardons and indulgences for all their own sins, were thrown down, and, bursting open in the fall, discovered a ludicrous collection of the crumbs and scraps of beggary. This unexpected disclosure of ecclesiastical imposition turned the whole triumph of the day into contempt; and Campeggio, as he proceeded towards the palace, was a mortified object of scorn and derision. The motives of his mission were also rendered abortive by the death of Selim. The immediate cause of danger being removed by this event, the projected crusade was abandoned, and the Christian potentates turned their thoughts again to the modes and means of overreaching each other

XII. The imperial dignity had hitherto been greater in name and title, than in substance and effect; but nature and fortune seemed combining,

at this juncture, to realize all its claims and pretensions to supremacy. Maximilian was far advanced in life, and the settlement of the empire occupied his thoughts. Charles, his grandson, had succeeded to the crown of Spain. By raising him to the imperial dignity, a larger extent of dominion would be subjected to the control of the Austrian family, than any monarch had enjoyed since the removal of the Roman government to Constantinople; for, with his hereditary kingdoms, this young prince had succeeded to a new world. Maximilian, with this view, began to canvass the electors. Francis perceived that the union of the Spanish and Imperial powers would be highly dangerous to his kingdom; and therefore, in order either to oppose the election of Charles to the empire, or to assist in the wars that were likely to arise in the event of his success, he endeavoured to gain the friendship of Henry.

XIII. The French nation has always had the sinister wisdom to employ personal inducements in their diplomatic transactions; by which, though they may not have as uniformly succeeded in corrupting the integrity of those with whom they dealt, they have, generally, obtained many national distinctions, which are better estimated by the feelings than by the judgment of mankind. Francis, aware of the ascendency that Wolsey had acquired over his master, was persuaded of the advantage that might arise from obtaining his favour. For

this purpose, he sent to London the admiral of France; a man of excellent address, who was not long in making an agreeable impression on the mind of the cardinal. He adroitly lamented that his master had lost the friendship of so eminent a person; and the flattery of such advances, from so great a monarch, had their due effect. To secure Wolsey still more decidedly to his interest, Francis affected to consult him concerning the various emergencies of his affairs. Henry was acquainted with the process of this secret adulation; but it only served to convince him of the superior talents of his minister. "I plainly discover," said the king to him, "that you will govern both Francis and me."

XIV. The first effects of this diplomatic adulation was a league between England and France. The principles on which it was founded, and the objects it embraced, served as the basis of the general treaties of the English government for a long period. The treaty itself may be regarded as one of the fundamental statutes of that great code, which, till the æra of the French revolution, constituted the laws and constitution of the community of the European nations. It was enacted, if the expression may be used, that, between the two sovereigns, their successors, and subjects, perfect peace and amity, by sea and land, should subsist; and that they should be the friends of the friends, and the enemies of the ene-

mies, of one another. All their respective allies were included in the league. It was declared, that if the dominions of either of the principal contracting parties should be at any time invaded, the aggressor should be required, by the other, to desist, and make reparation; which, if he refused to do within the space of a month from the date of the admonition, the confederates were to declare war against him. Should rebellions arise in any of their respective states, none of the confederates were to interfere, unless foreign princes had been the cause; in which case their forces were to be all united against the aggressor. It was also declared, that none of the confederates should suffer their subjects to bear arms against the others, nor retain foreign troops in their service; and that all fugitives accused of high treason should not be received within their respective territories, but that after twenty days' warning they should be obliged to depart.

XV. The object of this league was to preserve the then relative state of the different nations, and to anticipate the consequences that might ensue by the election of Charles to the empire; but it is chiefly worthy of notice as being an alteration in the constitution of Christendom. For the pope was admitted a party, and thereby became amenable to a secular tribunal constituted by the members of the confederation: nor could he violate his engagements to them, without becoming subject to

the penalties and forfeitures which were provided to ensure stability to the league. This was the first grand political error of the pontifical government; and from this epoch the power of the papacy has continued to decline. Charles and Maximilian, as well as Leo X., having acceded, Henry naturally became the arbiter in the disputes that afterwards arose among the confederates. Secure in his insular dominions, he was not immediately exposed to their conflicts, and could only be indirectly affected by the continental revolutions. The effects, therefore, of this important measure were, under the management of Wolsey, calculated to exalt the dignity of England, and to render her the arbitrator of the neighbouring states.

XVI. Besides the general league, a treaty of affinity and alliance was at the same time negotiated between Henry and Francis. The French had never ceased to grudge the loss of Tournay;—schemes to recover it occupied their minds; and in these negotiations the restitution formed a primary topic; nor was it untimely introduced. The expense of the fortifications began to be felt in the exchequer; and the bishop-elect had appealed to the pope against his dispossession by Henry, and the preference which the king had given to Wolsey. Either by the secret influence of France, or the negligence of the English minister at Rome, he obtained a bull, authorising him to use coercive means, and to claim the aid of the inhabitants to

accomplish his installation. Henry was justly incensed when he heard of this, and wrote to his minister at the papal court in terms of unsparing reproach against Leo. "The bull," said he, "is an exorbitant grant, and the pope may very well think, that neither I, nor my officers, soldiers, nor subjects, will obey processes and sentences contrary to justice. The bull is contrary to the laws of God and man, and justice and reason, and it is a great dishonour to the pope to have acted so indiscreetly." This curious letter, though composed in the exuberant style of the cardinal, appears, by the fierceness of the expressions, to have been dictated by the king himself. It is also a satisfactory voucher, that there existed weighty political reasons for the restoration of Tournay, without the necessity of supposing with the contemporary historians, who had not access to the state-papers, that Wolsey was bribed. Henry had, it is true, intended to keep Tournay as a perpetual trophy of his campaign, but subsequent events seemed tending to make it the cause of controversies derogatory to his dignity. To get rid of it without compromising his honour was therefore judicious policy; but the real motives of the resolution could not, with propriety, be stated to the public; and those which the cardinal assigned were certainly not satisfactory. He represented, that Tournay lay so far from Calais, that in war it would be difficult to keep the communication open. Being

situated on the frontiers of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to the assaults of both. The inhabitants were insubordinate and averse to the English, so that, even in peace, a large garrison was necessary to preserve it, and the expense was greater than the utility and value of the place. A treaty was in consequence concluded, by which it was agreed, that Tournay should be restored to France, and the princess of England, Mary, held as betrothed to the dauphin. The city was given as her dowry; and as Henry had made expensive additions to the citadel, Francis engaged to pay him six hundred thousand crowns, in twelve yearly payments. It was also stipulated, that a pension of twelve thousand livres should be granted to Wolsey, as an equivalent for the revenues of the bishopric, which he agreed to resign. And to ensure the faithful performance of these engagements, Francis contracted to give eight noble hostages, and to recall the Duke of Albany from Scotland, where his presence was disagreeable to Henry. It was likewise arranged, that the courts of France and England should, next year, hold a friendly meeting on the plains of Picardy.

XVII. When this treaty was ratified, the cardinal gave orders to the officers at Tournay, to sell the provisions and the materials which had been collected for the new fortifications. He enjoined them to put all things in good order, that when the French commissioners arrived, the city

might be resigned without suspicion of indirect dealing. He also commanded all vagabonds to be put out of the town, and every man to discharge his debts; thus maintaining the national integrity, by fulfilling the engagements undertaken for the public, and enforcing the performance of individual contracts. Nor was he negligent of his own private rights; he employed an honest priest to collect the arrears of the episcopal income, and the business was managed with mercantile sagacity. The disregard of pecuniary concerns is sometimes an infirmity, often one of the many affectations of genius; but contempt for trifles is very different from the anxious particularity of avarice, and the negligence that entails privations. No man can be dishonoured by the strict administration of his personal affairs, but the neglect of them is both shameful and injurious. The plea of public employment should not screen him from the imputation of private delinquency.

XVIII. In the beginning of the year 1519, died Maximilian, who, by his bustling projects, had so long wasted the strength of the empire in fruitless wars. His intrigues for securing the succession to Charles were not complete. Francis, therefore, immediately declared himself also a candidate for the vacant throne, openly professing himself the rival of the Spanish king. "It is honourable to both," said Francis, "to desire an increase of dignity. Let neither, therefore, suppose himself

wronged by the pretensions of the other, but, like two young lovers, emulous for a lady's favour, strive each, in his own way, to recommend himself.

XIX. Francis was then in the 29th year of his age, gallant, ingenuous, and accomplished. He was formed to command the affections of a polished people; but a degree of self-willed impetuosity, and a libertine disregard of engagements, blemished these amiable qualities. In his transactions as a sovereign, more feeling, rivalry, and personal profligacy appeared, than is usually met with in the conduct of kings. His opponent, Charles, was in many respects different, and in natural endowments his inferior. His mind was sedate and reflecting, more embued with the sinister prudence of private life, than with the magnanimity which should dignify a monarch. He was at this time only nineteen, but his head was cool and wary; and he already practised artifice by the suggestions of natural propensity, with the ease and confidence of a statesman grown hoary in dissimulation. Not only sordid in making bargains, he always endeavoured to obtain remote advantages unperceived by those with whom he dealt. If Francis sometimes found himself over-reached, and refused to fulfil his treaties, Charles was as often obliged to sustain the self-wounding sting of disappointed cunning.

XX. The conduct of Henry towards the two rivals is involved in some degree of obscurity.

The policy of England from this period, and during the remainder of Wolsey's administration, varied so often and so suddenly, that contemporary historians found it easier to accuse the cardinal of being alternately bribed by the Imperial and French courts, than to comprehend the scope of his views. It is the fate of statesmen to be denied the respect due to their merits, until their plans are surveyed from the heights of posterity; but the hope of obtaining justice at last enables the man, conscious of great purposes, to persevere in his course, undismayed by the clamours of the multitude, malice of tyrants, and the commotions and anarchies of the world. When the Kings of France and Spain became competitors for the Imperial crown, their respective qualifications could not but render it difficult to determine what system the English government ought to pursue. The union of France with the empire would constitute a power destructive to the independence of other nations. The hereditary dominions of Charles added to the empire would form a more extensive monarchy, but less compact than the other; for Spain was shaken with intestine war, and Hungary exposed to the menaces of the Turks. The doubtful balance in the English councils settled in favour of Charles; but so lightly, that it was easily disturbed. Wolsey could only endeavour to render his master arbiter to the rival kings, by sometimes favouring the one, and sometimes the other;

seldom acting as the decided friend of either. In the subsequent wars, when Charles or Francis alternately gained the ascendency, Henry sided with the loser, and the weight of England restored the equilibrium of power.

XXI. Charles was elected emperor, and Francis, notwithstanding the gallantry of his professions, could not disguise his chagrin. The pains of mortification felt like the wounds of injury. Though only disappointed, he acted as if he had been wronged. The advantages of his alliance with Henry were duly estimated, and he spared neither flattery, presents, nor promises, to cement the friendship of Wolsey. He empowered him to arrange the formalities of the great meeting of the courts of France and England,—an event contemplated by Charles with apprehension, and the effects of which he endeavoured to anticipate, by previously visiting Henry while he lay at Canterbury, preparatory to his passing over to Calais. The king was secretly apprised of the imperial visit; indeed it had been undertaken at the suggestion of the cardinal, who, having been solicited to frustrate the interview with the French sovereign, said, that he thought Charles might come himself, and discuss the business with Henry.

XXII. About ten o'clock at night, the emperor, under his canopy of state, landed at Dover with the Queen of Arragon, and his principal nobility. He was welcomed on the shore by the

cardinal, and conducted to the castle. The mingled blaze of torches, arms, and embroidery, brightened the faces of a vast multitude, as he ascended the heights; and the flashing of the ordnance from the battlements, afforded, at short intervals, a momentary view of the cliffs below, and the English and Imperial navies at anchor. Henry, informed of his arrival, hastened to meet him, and next morning they proceeded together to Canterbury, at that time one of the finest cities in England. The cathedral contained the relics of the audacious Becket, and was famed through all Christendom for its riches. In every place it was illuminated with the lustre of precious stones; and the shrine of the papal champion was so embossed with jewels, that gold was the meanest thing about it. The cardinal and the clergy received the king and the emperor at the gates, and led them to the church where mass was performed, and fresh riches added to that immense treasure, which the devout folly of ages had heaped together. Charles was afterwards introduced to the queen, his aunt. His constitutional gravity was noticed at the evening banquet, and flatteringly ascribed to the appearance of the Dowager of France, the wife of Suffolk, then the most beautiful and sprightly woman of the age, and to whom it had been at one time proposed that Charles should be affianced. After enjoying three days of revelry, and having obtained a promise that Henry would not enter

into any engagement with Francis prejudicial to him, he sailed from Sandwich for Flanders on the same day that the English court passed from Dover to Picardy. It has been alleged that Charles, during his visit, endeavoured to acquire the favour of Wolsey, by promising his influence to procure him the papacy; but no serious effect could be expected from such a promise if it was made, for Leo X. was in the prime of life, and many years younger than the cardinal.

XXIII. The meeting of the courts of France and England is the most sumptuous event in the records of magnificent spectacles. The two kings were in the flower of life; the attendants were selected from the most famous and high-born of the rival nations; and such was the profusion of riches, emulously exhibited, that the place of meeting, between Ardres and Guisnes, has since continued to be called the field of gold. Temporary palaces, exceeding in splendour the regular abodes of the monarch, were prepared in England, and carried to the scene. The walls of the chambers and galleries were hung with costly arras, and the chapel was adorned with every thing that could increase the gorgeous ritual of popery. The French king inhabited pavilions of golden tissue, lined with blue velvet embroidered with the lilies of France, and fastened with cords of silk, entwisted with Cyprian gold.—But kings, by their greatness, as

well as by their duties, cannot long continue together. The prodigal pomp of Henry and Francis lasted only fourteen days. No political discussion, of influential consequence, took place. The interview was only the final and collective exhibition of those pageants of chivalry, which had so long interested the admiration of Christendom. A treaty was, indeed, concluded, but it only declared that Francis, after discharging the outstanding debt, due from France to England, should yearly pay at Calais, one hundred livres, until the marriage between his son and the daughter of Henry was solemnized. This was, probably, a kind of feudatory acknowledgment, personally to Henry, for it was to continue payable throughout his lifetime. It was also agreed, that the differences relative to Scotland should be left to the arbitration of the cardinal and the mother of Francis. Although this treaty is the only documentary evidence of business, the interview afforded opportunities for studying the characters of the French statesmen, highly important to such a man as Wolsey. He never afterwards appears to have trusted the government of Francis, or to have considered France fit to be allied to England, except when she was in a reduced condition, and when there was some chance that necessity, and the prospect of advantage, would ensure fidelity.

XXIV. Before returning home, Henry visited

the emperor at Gravellines; and Charles, next day, with his aunt Margaret, regent of the Netherlands, returned this courtesy to the English court at Calais, where the shows of the field of gold were renewed with new decorations. An amphitheatre, eight hundred feet in compass, which was constructed for the occasion, deserves particular mention, as a proof of the taste and splendour of the age. The ceiling was painted in imitation of the fabrics of antiquity, and, like them, it was adorned with statues and pictures. But the tilts and masques were interrupted by a furious storm, which extinguished above a thousand of the candles, and defaced the thrones prepared for the princes.—During this visit, Henry endeavoured to persuade Charles to accede, as emperor, to the league of London, to which he was already a party, in his capacity as King of Spain. But, whether already contemplating the amount of his means, and wishing to be considered as free, or really regarding his former accession as sufficient, admits of controversy. Procrastination was one of Charles's maxims; and, on this occasion, he could avoid, without refusing, the proposition. In the end, however, he consented that his first accession should remain obligatory on him as emperor.

XXV. It is of little importance to inquire on what pretexts Francis and Charles engaged in those terrible wars, which so long after laid waste their dominions, and afflicted their subjects. The

cause was their personal rivalry. The fervent propensities of the French king instigated him to be the aggressor. He meditated revenge for the success of Charles in the election; he was ambitious of renown; he saw his kingdom circumscribed and invested by the jurisdiction of the man who had overtopped his destiny; and he could not refrain from war. But the league of London made it expedient, that he should not appear to be the first to violate the peace; for, in that case, the King of England and his allies would be obliged to assist the emperor. There were, however, in the situation of Charles, allurements to hostilities which Francis could not withstand.

XXVI. On the same day that Charles was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, Soliman was inaugurated at Constantinople; and, in the astrological account of the time, it was remarked, that they had a similar ascendant. For Charles was the eleventh emperor from Albert, in whose time the dominion of the Ottomans commenced, and Soliman was the eleventh sultan of that race. The French government, from the ambition and activity of Soliman, expected that he would afford ample employment to the German forces. The Spaniards, uneasy at the promotion of their king to the imperial dignity, aware that, in consequence, his residence would rarely be among them, became discontented. Foreigners, to the exclusion of natives, had been promoted to offices in the state;

and, like aliens in all nations, they studied only their own advantage. When Charles departed to be crowned emperor, the people openly rebelled, assembled the junta to redress their grievances, and prepared to defend themselves and the rights of their country against the foreigners, but without renouncing their allegiance to the king. Francis, actuated by revenge, by hope, and by the temptation of these circumstances, sent an army into Navarre. Charles claimed the interference of Henry, according to the terms of the League; and an embassy was, in consequence, sent from London, by which Francis was required to desist from hostilities. The invasion of Navarre proving disastrous, he complied; but war had commenced, and the emperor finding his means equal, at least, to his difficulties, was not disposed to lay aside his arms. Francis, therefore, in his turn, as a member of the League, also appealed to England, and stated, that he could not avoid war, as the Imperial armies were constantly augmenting. The king answered, that he had resolved to remain neutral in the quarrel; but offered to act as umpire; for which purpose, if Charles and Francis would send plenipotentiaries to Calais, Wolsey should meet them there, and act in his name, as arbiter. This proposal was accepted; and the cardinal went to the place appointed.

XXVII. Before the congress was opened, the

cardinal visited the emperor at Bruges. Charles received him, in person, about a mile from the town, and entertained him thirteen days as the vicegerent of the English king. Every night his livery was served by the officers of the emperor with an entertainment, which consisted of caudles, wine, sugar, and manchet, differing little in its circumstances and jollity from the ancient custom of welcoming the new year. Wolsey, at all times susceptible of the flattery of honourable treatment, could not but feel himself gratified; and his necessary acknowledgments of politeness were interpreted by the French as proofs of his disposition to comply with the wishes of the emperor.

XXVIII. The first point to determine was, which of the sovereigns began the war, for the King of England was bound to aid the injured. Wolsey could not but consider Francis as the aggressor. The minister of Charles, accordingly, made proposals not calculated to be accepted. The French also offered terms equally inadmissible. After spending ten days in fruitless altercation, the cardinal declared, that he saw no way of reconciling the parties. Francis, indeed, though he had appealed to Henry, and consented that Wolsey should be the arbiter, had really no wish to remain at peace. For even while the congress was sitting, he permitted the Duke of Albany to depart for Scotland; although he was bound, by promise

and treaty, not to connive at any of his proceedings, which were held to be adverse to the interests of Henry's sister and her family.

XXIX. Having failed to adjust the difference between the rival monarchs, the cardinal, acting upon the principles of the great League of London, proposed and concluded a treaty conducive to a crusade, which was then projected in order to draw the minds of mankind from various anticlerical notions, by which they began about this time to be influenced. And because no expedition could be undertaken against the Turk, until the pride of France was repressed, the pope, the emperor, and the King of England, agreed to the following articles. When Charles passes to Spain, Henry shall give him convoy through the channel, with leave to land in England, and honourable entertainment while he remains there. When Henry passes to Picardy, Charles shall, in requital, do similar service. If, before the end of the current year, peace be not established between the pope, the emperor, and the French king, or if the French king begin the war afresh, Henry shall, on the arrival of Charles in England, declare himself against Francis. In this event, the English fleet, having conveyed the emperor to Spain, shall return and harass the coasts of France; and the pope shall send forth his curse, and incite the secular arm of the Christians against Francis. Between Charles, Henry, Leo, and the Medici family, with

their several confederates, a reciprocity of protection shall be undertaken. And, in order that they may avail themselves, as well as the French, of the mercenaries of Switzerland, it was agreed, that the inhabitants of the Alps should be permitted to remain neutral. The secular contrahents undertook to maintain the papal pretensions within their respective territories, and within any conquests that they might obtain during the war. When the ambition of France is curbed, the Turk shall be attacked; and no treaty shall, in future, be signed by any of the contrahents prejudicial to the League of London. It was also agreed that, although the Princess of England was betrothed to the Dauphin of France, yet, for the public good of Christendom, she might be married to the emperor; and the pope consented to dispense with the obstacles of their affinity. Before the ratification of this treaty the pope suddenly died.

XXX. Few men have attained to so much fame by so little effort as Pope Leo X. His station, equanimity, and affable demeanour would, without talent, have secured him the admiration of mankind; yet his mental endowments were such as, without the factitious aids of rank and manner, might have ensured the respect of the wise and the esteem of the virtuous. But indolence overgrew his nobler faculties, and induced such a poverty of moral honour, that he died an object of pity to the good, and of contempt to the profligate.

His private life was disgraced by sensuality, which the incense of poetical adulation has veiled. His public conduct was stained by crimes; but their hideousness seems diminished by the elegance with which they have been recorded. His reign was glorious to Italy, and memorable to the world; but the halo around it is the lustre of the genius of others. It was his destiny, however, to appear at an important epoch, and he will always be regarded as the harbinger of the great intellectual day.

BOOK III.

It is the peculiar quality of true ambition to urge its subjects to make themselves illustrious by noble actions. The love of distinction alone is but a perishable vanity, and without benevolence, the passion of adding kingdom to kingdoms is avarice, and the achievements of conquerors are crimes of the same genus as theft. The fame of no statesman can be long venerated, unless connected with institutions of utility. Nor is success always the criterion of merit, nor essential to reward; for sometimes the motives, as seen in the means of enterprise, so unequivocally indicate honourable intentions, that renown follows even failure and defeat. In the biography, therefore, of eminent men, the peculiar qualities of their ambition should be carefully scrutinized, in order to determine, whatever their pretensions may have been, or their contemporaneous popularity, whether they are entitled to the respect of posterity, or ought to be classed with those ephemeral characters, who, in the applause which followed the fret and strut in

their own time, obtained the full measure of honour due to their deserts.

II. In the age of Leo X., the church had, in England, as elsewhere, attained the extremes of her prosperity and power. Her sins and her luxuries could not be exceeded, nor longer endured. The monasteries, exempted from regal and episcopal jurisdiction, and possessing, generally, the privilege of sanctuary, their inhabitants did not languish for the want of any species of voluptuous enjoyment. The doctrine of purgatory supplied them with ample resources. The mortmain laws but feebly restrained the profusion of post-obit diety. To prevent the total alienation of the lands to the priesthood, primogenitureship, entails, and various other pernicious limitations in the descent of property, had been contrived. Blended with the feudal system, these checks on ecclesiastical usurpation became the basis of the laws which still regulate inheritance; and they are the sources of those peculiar restraints on territorial wealth, by which the claims of creditors, and the operations of equity, are frustrated. The Church, not content with the rich accumulation of legacies, invented the doctrine of the intercession of saints, and the legends of miraculous relics,—the most ingenious means of taxation that power has yet applied, or audacity ventured to impose. Reason and fancy were equally repressed. Sometimes, it is true, the dramas, exhibited in the cathedrals, emitted a feeble ray of poetical genius in the midst of the most ob-

scure logomachies; but it only served to make the surrounding darkness visible.

III. Henry VII., perplexed by the different pretenders to the throne, and particularly by the followers of Perkin Warbeck, taking refuge in the churches and abbeys, applied to Julius II. for a bull to corect the abuse of sanctuary in England. His holiness, solicitous of the king's friendship, granted the request; and the bull issued on that occasion is the first on record, by which a limit was put to a general privilege of the church. To disclose the whole turpitude of the ecclesiastical abodes of England, and to propose a system of gradual reformation, was reserved for Cardinal Wolsey. Perceiving that the tendency of opinion might undermine the papal structure, unless effectual means were adopted to restrain the licentiousness of the clergy, he obtained a bull, which conferred on him a legatine right to visit all the monasteries of the realm, and to suspend the pontifical laws in England at discretion during a whole year. His motive at first for seeking this commission, was to reduce the swarm of monks, who, from the days of the Saxon kings, had continued to multiply. He regarded them as consuming locusts, a reproach to the church, and wasteful to the state; and he resolved to convert their habitations into cathedrals and colleges, with the view of restoring the clergy to their ancient mental superiority. The rumour of an innovation so terrible

alarmed all the ecclesiastical orders. Their clamour was loud, incessant, and almost universal. Every levity that the upstart reformer had himself committed was brought before the public, and magnified to the utmost; and, as if it could diminish the worthlessness of his brethren, it was alleged to be little less than monstrous, that a man so prone to the pleasures of life himself, should abridge the sensualities of others. Those who were free from the reprobate inclinations with which the priesthood were charged in the bull, exclaimed against the generality of the charge, and the criminals were enraged at the prevention and punishment of their infamies.

IV. By virtue of his commission, Wolsey, as legate, instituted a court, which he endowed with a censorial jurisdiction over the priesthood. It was empowered to investigate matters of conscience, conduct which had given scandal, and actions, which, though they escaped the law, might be found contrary to good morals. The clergy furnished abundant employment to this inquisitorial institution; and, as the fines were strictly levied, and the awards sternly executed, it enhanced their exasperation against the founder.

V. The same causes which had induced Wolsey to attempt a reformation in the manners of the English ecclesiastics, had, in other parts of Christendom, been long operating to produce similar effects. From the election of Alexander VI., the

venality and vices of the pontifical government became notorious; and the wars which occupied the hearts of the holy fathers from that æra, had exhausted the papal treasury. Leo X., finding the ordinary revenues of the popedom insufficient for the demands of his political designs and magnificent amusements, had, in order to raise money, recourse to many fraudulent artifices. Among others, he revived those by which Urban II., towards the close of the eleventh century, incited Christendom to arm for the recovery of Palestine. His first attempt was rendered abortive by the death of Sultan Selim; but, as all flesh is prone to the enjoyments of sin, Leo thought that the sale of indulgences would prove a lucrative trade. Auricular confession was one of the great secrets, by which the church had attained and preserved her exorbitant domination; and was rendered completely effectual, by the episcopal appointment of confessors, selected on account of their devotion to the ecclesiastical cause. Sinners often felt the hardship of this regulation, and trembled to reveal the instigations of young desire, and the levities of youthful blood, to an austere and sanctimonious old man. Leo therefore thought that freedom in the choice of confessors would be a great comfort to sinners. Licenses to choose them were accordingly sold; but the measure only tended to facilitate the progress of schism and apostacy. Those who had begun to suspect the validity of the papal

pretensions, and to doubt the efficacy of ecclesiastical mediation, took for their confessors priests who were inclined to their own opinions. The chiefs of the church, in consequence, were neither so early nor so well informed of the propagation of heresy as formerly, and the danger was far advanced before measures could be taken to procure abortion. The horrible outrages on humanity which were afterwards committed only served to make the catholic priesthood of that epoch for ever detestable.

VI. But although the licenses for choosing confessors would have gradually accomplished the diminution of the antichristian usurpation, it is probable that, without the conjunction of other more immediately decisive events, the Reformation, which commenced by the secession of Luther, would not have so speedily taken place. The first outcry of that arrogant expounder of the benevolent text and precepts of Christianity was directed rather against abuses in the sale of warrants to sin, than against the principle on which they were sold. Even after he had been provoked to assail the papal sacraments, he showed himself still so much inclined to maintain exclusive prerogatives to the clergy, that it may be fairly questioned whether his rebellion against the pope was inspired by religious integrity, or by carnal revenge. Luther belonged to an order of strolling friars, who were employed to sell the indulgences in Germany, but who lost this advantage by a grant which Leo X.

made of the profits arising from the sins of Saxony, to his sister Maddalen and her husband, a bastard of Pope Innocent VIII. Punishment, among the vulgar, is considered as the proof of guilt; and things tolerated by statutes and practice are rarely suspected of being wrong. The serviceless pensioners of the Church, the sisters and bastards of her princes and ministers, never conceived that frauds on mankind collectively were of the same degree of moral turpitude as if practised against individuals. Persons who would have repelled with indignation any proposal to overreach their neighbour, and would have punished, with feelings of just indignation, the practices of vulgar felons, made no scruple of dilapidating, for their own profit, the stock of public wealth. Maddalen and Cibo appointed an imprudent agent, who employed the Dominicans instead of the order to which Luther belonged, and they so glutted the market, that the trade of indulgences was ruined for ever. Powers for delivering souls from purgatory were openly staked in gaming-houses by the inferior miscreants who acted as brokers for the sister of the holy father; and indulgences of the most odious description were sold in taverns and bagnios. It was therefore not surprising, that the conscientious as well as the discontented subjects of the pope should openly proclaim the abuses of the apostolical government. The advocates of existing customs exposed in vain the turbulent

self-sufficiency of the reformers; and recalled to remembrance with what constancy of virtue their ancestors had reared and supported that venerable frame of things which a reprobate generation, actuated by a strange phrenzy, was rushing to destroy. They forgot that the misconduct of advocates never can impair the principles of a cause. But institutions are only improved by the pressure of external compulsion. Reformations may be ascribed to the wisdom of particular men; but they are the effects of remote causes, and extorted because the public will not endure the corruptions that render them desirable. The ecclesiastical machine was rotten. It could no longer perform its wonted functions; and a new one, suitable to the improved knowledge of the age, was indispensable. The manners of the workmen could neither affect the materials of the old, nor the design of the new. Among the reformers were many virtuous characters; haters of corruption for its own sake, and professors of Christianity for a recompense not of this world; nor can it be denied that the church of Rome contained many members equally blameless; but the plunderers of shrines and the burners of heretics were not of this description.

VII. By the plan of ecclesiastical reformation which Wolsey adopted, the interference of the people was anticipated in England. His legatine authority made him head of the church; and, as chancellor and chief minister, he possessed the effi-

cient power of the executive government. Hence the Reformation, being undertaken by him, seemed to emanate from the crown; and the nation was saved from those dreadful tumults which attended the overthrow of popery in other countries, and which, though they were provoked by the bigotry of prelates and statesmen, were not the less criminal against society. The treasures and the costly fabrics of the monks should have reverted to the commonwealth, when their original destination ceased, and the alteration of opinions had superseded their utility. But the incendiary and selfish proceedings of the fathers of protestantism must be regarded as having been necessary; and the good resulting from their destructive system has expiated their guilt. The measures pursued by the pope, contrasted with those of Wolsey, show the superiority of the Cardinal's character to much advantage. Leo, instead of endeavouring to amend the errors and vices of the church, punished those who exposed them. But the flames of persecution aided, as it were, the light of truth, and still more strikingly illuminated the atheistical atrocities of *the Vatican. Luther was cited to Rome,* suspended from preaching, and excommunicated; but these resolutions only served to magnify his importance, and to interest the people in his fate. The spirit of controversy, in consequence, seized upon all ranks, ages, and sexes, to such a degree, that extraordinary celestial aspects, which happened to

be then observed, were alone supposed adequate to produce an effect so general and wonderful; and it has been remarked, that while the shrines were broken in Europe, the altars and the idols of Asia and of the New World were also shaken and overthrown.

VIII. Henry caught the enthusiasm of the age, and Wolsey was ordered to apply to the pope for authority to permit the perusal of Luther's prohibited writings to such as desired it, for the purpose of refuting their errors. Leo readily complied; and, in due season, the king brought forth his book on the seven sacraments,—a work which the clergy, of course, extolled as the most learned under the sun. The author was compared to Solomon, and magnified for wisdom above all Christian princes that had ever existed. When this royal lucubration was presented to the pope, he made no scruple of saying, that he valued it equal to the works of St Jerome and St Augustine,—nor even at this day may his opinion be questioned; and, with the concurrence of the consistory, he bestowed on the author the title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, as if the truth of the faith required any champion. But though the king, in the management of his argument, may have shown himself an able divine, and superior, as it is said, in the vigour and propriety of his style, the force of his reasoning, and the learning of his citations, yet, as the friar addressed himself to the common sense of mankind,

the practical effects of their writings were very different. Whether Wolsey actually assisted in the composition of Henry's book is doubtful. That he was acquainted with its progress, and consulted with respect to the execution, is probable. The number and extent of his public trusts certainly formed sufficient employment for all his time; but as the uncommon elasticity of his mind enabled him to pass at once from one kind of business to another with extraordinary facility, he might occasionally perform the part of a friendly critic, without having had any particular share in the regular labour of the work.

IX. At the death of Leo X., Wolsey aspired to the tiara. How this ambition should ever have been regarded as something very iniquitous is difficult to understand. It is the means used to procure the gratification, and not the passion, which makes ambition criminal. But though he was eminently qualified for the papal dignity, the Italian cardinals had strong objections to him on account of his country and character. They regarded all foreigners as barbarians, and dreaded to admit into the consistory any person from those distant provinces of Christendom, where Rome was regarded as the asylum of all that was holy, harmless, and undefiled. He had therefore to contend with the impediment arising from this prejudice, and with the two formidable factions, the Imperial and French, which divided the conclave. A still

stronger objection, though one that was felt, but could not be discussed, arose from his known endeavours to curtail the licentiousness of the clergy. But it may be proper to consider, generally, the public circumstances which undoubtedly ministered to prevent his election.

X. Besides the personal qualification of the candidates, it was natural for the conclave to consider the political interests which respectively they were likely to affect. Both the French and Imperial factions could not but perceive that the election of Wolsey would tend to form a third party, distinct from theirs. The menaces of the sultan, and the insurgency of the Spaniards, rendered Charles, notwithstanding the geographical extent of his territories, barely a match for Francis, whose rounded, compact, and populous dominions, enjoyed entire tranquillity. The kingdom of Henry, though scarcely equal to some of the emperor's provinces, was yet, by its insular situation and prosperity, not inferior in the balance of power to either. The elevation of Wolsey to the papacy would therefore, probably, in the opinion of the cardinals, have given an undue preponderance in favour of England; especially if his character was taken into the estimate, and character has always great weight in the estimates of contemporary politicians. His vast pride, that lofty self-confidence which admitted of no control, was a topic of detraction throughout all Europe. His country made him obnoxious

to the French and Imperial factions, and his exposure of the ecclesiastical corruptions had not rendered him acceptable to the general body of the priesthood. At the death of Leo, it was obviously not the interest of the French to promote a man whose views and principles were inimical to Francis; and it was more for the advantage of the Imperialists to choose one of their own party, than such a man as Wolsey. Although opposed to each other, they were united against him. It was, therefore, natural, that, in order to get rid of the Cardinal, and since they could not agree upon choosing a decisive character from among themselves, they should fix upon one who, by his age and neutral qualities, was not likely to impair their respective influence. The event took place accordingly. After the conclave had been closed longer than usual, and when there was no likelihood of terminating the election in favour of the original candidates, a new one was proposed,—Adrian, the tutor of Charles,—a man of moderate talents, and so far advanced in life that he could not reasonably be expected to live long. He was immediately elected. His elevation was, in fact, the effect of a tacit compromise among all parties; his age and character compensating for the advantage which the Imperialists were likely to gain by the event. The election was in consequence unanimous, and the cardinals, with their usual blasphemy, ascribed it to a special interference of the Holy Ghost.

Whatever Wolsey may have privately felt at being disappointed of the honour to which he had aspired, the result did not alter the political policy which he had previously adopted; nor is there any proof extant, that he did not concur, in opinion, with those who suggested the expediency of electing the emperor's tutor. Besides, his disappointment must have been palliated by the consideration, that Adrian was a foreigner, and that, by choosing him, the door, which had been long shut on the transalpine clergy, was again opened to them. It could not fail to be remarked, that the objection of his country would weigh less at the next vacancy, the prospect of which, by the infirmities of the new pope, was not very distant. It has been alleged that Charles did not exert himself on this occasion for the advancement of the Cardinal, as he had promised; but the contrary is the fact. It is true that his own tutor was preferred, but there is little reason to believe that it was by his particular interference.

XI. In the meantime, the domestic administration of the Cardinal had been troubled with an unhappy event, the trial and execution of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. He was descended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, the sixth son of Edward III.; and, consequently, as all the legitimate heirs of the five elder brothers, but the mother of the king, had been cut off in the civil wars, he was next, in line of blood, to the crown, in

the event of Henry VII.'s family becoming extinct. But his chance of rightfully ascending the throne was then very remote; for, besides the Princess Mary, then heir apparent, the dowagers of France and Scotland had each several children, and, as well as the king, they had the hope and prospect of more. His revenues were ample, his expenditure liberal, and, flattered by his inferiors, he mistook the deference paid to the accidents of fortune for the assurances of future royalty. Without any of those strong and steady talents, which are at once the causes and the means of ambition, he was deeply imbued with the fatalism which attends that imperial passion, and he pried into the undeveloped secrets of time with a weak and feminine solicitude. The lordliness and lofty genius of the Cardinal, overtowering all the courtiers, mortified his pride, and rebuked his pretensions. He grudged that a man of mean birth should enjoy so much authority, and he hated him for being qualified to maintain it. This antipathy, the narrow jealousy of aristocratic arrogance, was probably exasperated by the contempt with which it was retaliated.

XII. Among other things which the duke complained of in the administration of the Cardinal was, the expensive meeting of the courts of France and England. He represented it as a theatrical show, by which Wolsey only desired to exhibit to the world his influence over the two kings; but, being ordered to attend, he had prepared for the

voyage with the magnificence suitable to his rank and his fortune. Happening to be ready before the court, he went forward to his estates in Kent, and dismissed his steward for having vexed and oppressed his tenantry. A short time before his departure from London, his son-in-law, the Earl of Surrey, appointed viceroy of Ireland, had proceeded to Dublin. It is necessary to notice this circumstance particularly; because, it has been alleged, that Surrey was sent purposely out of the way, that Wolsey might the more easily accomplish his machinations for the ruin of Buckingham, although it was chiefly on the evidence of the steward that he was found guilty.

XIII. In the spring following the interview of the kings, and about twelve months after Surrey had been sent to Ireland, Buckingham was accused of treasonable practices; arrested, and frequently examined, he was impeached, and ordered for trial. That he was fairly dealt with in the process cannot be denied. The Duke of Norfolk, father of his son-in-law, was appointed great steward for the occasion; nor have the other members of the court of commission by which he was tried, and which consisted of a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons, ever been mentioned as actuated against him by any questionable motive. But witnesses might be suborned, and the court, though of the purest integrity, might hear such assertions in evidence, that sentence against the victim could not

possibly be avoided. This, however, has never been alleged. It has never been asserted that the witnesses were false, although the execution was considered as a severity which the actual aggression did not merit. He was convicted on charges, which, in an age credulous of astrological predictions, and at a time when the calamities of the York and Lancaster wars were fresh in every memory, appeared much more heinous than can be conceived, without reference to the period in which they were made. The turpitude of crimes depends on the state of public feeling when they happen to be committed. The amount of wrong does not constitute the degree of guilt. The estimate which society makes of the probable issue of tolerating evil actions, constitutes the hideousness of guilt, as the horrors of Sin are in the voluminous and loathsome length of her extremities.

XIV. It was proved against Buckingham, that he had declared, before the birth of the princess Mary, that he considered himself, if the king died without issue, as heir to the crown; that he did many things which evinced a traitorous ambition, finding fault with the conduct of Henry VII., and murmuring against the existing government; that he had dealt with a fortune-telling monk, concerning his chance of succeeding to the throne, and, having confidence in the predictions, had courted popularity; that he said to his dismissed steward, if he had been committed to the Tower, on account

of one of the king's servants, who had entered without leave into his household, and who had been convicted of contumacy in the Star-chamber, he would have played the part his father meant to have acted against Richard III., when he entreated to be brought into his presence. He would have stabbed the king as he affected to kneel in homage; and, in telling these words, he grasped his dagger, and swore fiercely; and it was also proved, that he had said, if the king died, he would have the rule of the realm in spite of all opposition.

XV. Such is the essence of the charges on which he was arraigned. His consultations with the monk had taken place many years before, and seem to have been brought forward with a view to show how long he had cherished such unlawful wishes. Treason, though of all crimes the most dreadful, is yet, by something either in its magnitude or its resemblance to the gallant enterprises of war, never considered with those sentiments of detestation that acts of inferior guilt inspire; and a condemned man, whatever may have been his offence, is always an object of compassion. In carrying the duke through London to the Tower, after his doom had been pronounced, the pity of the spectators would have been excited, even although his attendants had not solicited their prayers; especially as he had not actually perpetrated any palpable crime. The lamentations, therefore, which accompanied his condemnation and execution, are

rather a proof of the generosity of the people and of his own popularity, than evidence of innocence, or of the machiavelism ascribed by contemporary historians to the Cardinal.

XVI. After Wolsey's unavailing attempt to reconcile Francis and Charles, it was expected that the French faction in Scotland, at the head of which was the Duke of Albany, would, according to the ancient policy of that kingdom, endeavour to disturb the tranquillity of England, while Henry embarked in the war against France. This was rendered the more probable, as Queen Margaret, in consequence of a domestic disagreement, had detached herself from the English party, and openly declared that she was accessary to Albany's return. Prompt measures were therefore necessary to frustrate the designs which the regent of Scotland unequivocally meditated. The warden of the marches was accordingly commanded to pass the borders, and to proclaim that the Scots, in less than a month, should desist from their predatory inroads and warlike preparations. The regency of Scotland disregarded the admonition, and the duke, with a numerous army, advanced towards the borders. But the barons and chieftains, though they had agreed to protect the frontiers of their own country, refused to molest the land and subjects of England. Albany was, in consequence, obliged to propose a truce, and to allow his army to disperse. Thus disappointed, he suddenly re-

turned to Paris, in order to concert new measures with Francis, who, though menaced on all sides by the confederates, continued assiduous in the execution of the plans which had originally induced him to violate the league of London.

XVII. Francis had ordered the goods, debts, and persons of the English in Bourdeaux to be arrested,—an aggression which greatly astonished the inhabitants of London, and quickened the indignation with which his conduct had already inspired the government. The Cardinal instantly, on receiving the news, sent for the French ambassador, and expressed, with the utmost acerbity, his opinion of Francis and his government, 'in being the first promoters of the league of London, and the first who had violated its engagements. "Francis," said Wolsey, "gave his word to the king, when they met in Picardy, that Albany should not be allowed to return to Scotland, and yet he has sent him there. What sort of a fellow must your master be?" The ambassador was then ordered to keep his house; and all the French and Scots in London were indiscriminately thrown into prison. This summary retribution was immediately followed by other decisive acts of hostility; and orders were issued to ascertain the population and resources of the kingdom, preparatory to the calling forth of all its power.

XVIII. The science of political economy, which has been so amply elucidated in the course of the

eighteenth century, was scarcely known in the time of Wolsey. Whatever was raised from the people, for the service of the state, was regarded as so much subtracted from the wealth of the nation. The vital energy, which arises from the general interchange of money, commodities, and skill, was, like the circulation of the blood, then very imperfectly known. Nor was it understood that the impoverishment, occasioned by wars, proceeds as much from diminishing the number of productive labourers, as from the expenditure of treasure. It was not the custom for armies to act only against armies in those days, but to practise that system of levying contributions, which the French have, with so much success, resorted to in these. Whenever a country was invaded, all within the reach of the invader was subjected to his use. The inhabitants would have beheld, with as much astonishment, the enemy paying for provisions, as the soldiers would have heard, with indignation, an order denying them the privilege of plundering. By the feudal obligations, those expenses, which constitute the main expenditure of nations, fell immediately on the possessors of the soil, before the encroachments of the clergy had attached to the church the richest domains, and made it no longer possible for the secular orders to bear the whole charge alone. The ecclesiastics being exempted from personal service, it became customary for the kings of England to solicit them for pecu-

niary aids. But the laymen were still bound to furnish arms and soldiers. The public works also were, in those days, not constructed at the expense of the royal revenues; but were either paid for by local taxes, or executed by a proportional number of labourers and mechanics drawn from different parts of the kingdom. Many of the civil and judicial offices were independent of the crown, and attached to the soil. Property, which is the basis of political power, was anciently in England the legal and constitutional criterion of intellectual capacity. In proportion to the opulence of an estate was the extent of the possessor's authority. The disbursements of the exchequer were consequently only on account of the royal household, except when armies were transported to the plains of France: on such occasions, the preparations for the fleet rendered it necessary to solicit benevolences, or gifts from the priesthood, and all other willing and loyal subjects. But this precarious resource was inadequate for the exigencies of that wide and extended war, which Henry had resolved to wage, in conjunction with Charles and his other allies, against Francis. The duty therefore which the Cardinal had to perform was the most ungracious that could fall to the lot of any minister. Taxation was regarded, in some sort, as a heresy in state dogmas; and that complex machinery, by which the vast revenues of England are now collected from the rispings and friction of industry, was not then invented. Nor



were the objects of the war obvious to the multitude, while its burdens were greater than any other which the English nation had ever before sustained.

XIX. When the feudal system was in its vigour, it set bounds to the ambition of kings; for, although it enabled them to resist aggression with more expedition than any military arrangement that has yet appeared, it prevented them from combining with so much effect as the later institution of standing armies. It was only calculated for defensive operations. The limited time which the vassals were bound to attend the chieftains, accoutred and provided for the field, was too short for the execution of great schemes of conquest, though sufficient to frustrate invasions undertaken by feudal armies. But as the system itself fell into decay, forces were formed, with commanders distinct from the possessors of the land, even before any material alteration took place in the relative condition of the provincial states of Christendom. The change, arising from the decay, first began to show itself in leagues offensive and defensive; for the preservation of which, troops ready for the field became requisite, and for their maintenance, the obligations of knight-service were commuted for money. As the feudal system sunk, the financial rose; and the means were taken from the people of defending themselves, and placed in the hands of the military order. Hence nations, which formerly

would have required the efforts of ages to overcome, have, in these days, been conquered by regular armies in a single battle. Under the financial system, that country which can support the largest standing force must necessarily prevail. But, during the ancient state of the European nations, the farther an invading army advanced, its means of annoyance diminished, while those of its opponents increased. The case is different when the contest lies between two regular armies: the inhabitants of the invaded country are defenceless; they trust to their military order, and when it is vanquished, they are subdued. The rule becomes transferred to the victors, and the people, destitute of those standards of local champions, around which their ancestors were wont to rally with invigorated hopes, even after repeated defeats, submit without resistance to the decrees of their new masters. This state of things can only be abrogated by the renunciation of coalitionary projects; and by each nation constituting within itself a system of defence commensurate to its population. It is difficult to understand on what principle of natural justice one government should link its fate to that of another. For what are called the common causes of nations, those in which different states, with distinct interests and opposite sentiments, unite and war against any other particular state, must necessarily be unjust, because the very object of their coalition is only contingent. Such con-

tracts, however, as the league of London, which, perhaps, ought to be regarded as the grandest monument of the comprehensive mind of Wolsey, are of a different nature. They are, in some degree, to nations, what public statutes are to persons; and their tendency, as was shown in the appeal to Henry, and in the meeting of the congress of Calais, is manifestly to constitute a tribunal, to which states may refer their complaints against the encroachments of one another.

XX. Scotland, by her alliance with France, always reckoned, in the event of war with England, on a powerful diversion being made in her favour, by the proximity of the English continental dominions to the territories of the French kings. And France, in her turn, being continually exposed to the pretensions of the warlike Plantagenets to her whole crown, calculated on a similar advantage, from the borders of Scotland, against the very body itself of the English monarchy. This reciprocity of policy formed a strong connexion between the courts of Paris and of Edinburgh; and nothing, prior to the marriage of James IV. with the daughter of Henry VII., occurred to impair its effect. But that marriage, and the magnanimity of England after the calamitous fall of James at Flodden, with the relationship of his children to Henry, opened the affairs and politics of Scotland to the influence of the English cabinet. Wolsey availed himself of this

circumstance, and the ministers of Queen Elizabeth perfected the systematic interference which he so successfully commenced. Improbable as it ought to be, that persons, belonging to that high class which is particularly intrusted with the sacred custody of the honour and independence of their country, should, for selfish purposes, enter into a corrupt correspondence with the minister of a foreign state, there are numerous documents extant which prove the venality of Scottish peers and prelates, and their subserviency to Cardinal Wolsey. From the period of the battle of Flodden, and the meeting of the congress at Calais, a greater predilection towards England was formed within the bosom of Scotland than had existed since the time of Edward I. From the date of the battle, the French influence began to decline. During the Cardinal's administration it was rendered almost nugatory; for when it did happen to succeed to a certain extent, its schemes, by some secret skilful management, suddenly dissolved in the moment of parturition, and disappointed the hopes of those who had conceived them.

XXI. The time which the emperor had fixed for his second visit to England, and for which he had made stipulations in the treaty concluded by Wolsey at Calais, was now arrived. A number of persons, of the first rank, were in consequence sent to attend him across the Channel; and the Cardinal, with a sumptuous train of ecclesiastics, re-

ceived him again at Dover. The king, as on his former visit, met him in the castle, and thence conducted him to the palace of Greenwich. On Whitsunday, he went to St Paul's with the court; and the Cardinal performed the service with a degree of ostentatious pomp never surpassed by the popes themselves. Two barons held the basin and towel before the mass; two earls after the gospels; and two dukes served him at the last lavation. When Charles was soon after instituted a knight of the garter, he received the sacrament with Henry; and they vowed, together, kneeling at the altar, to maintain inviolate a treaty which had been previously drawn up, and which, from the place of ratification, was called the treaty of Windsor.

XXII. By this contract it was declared, that hostilities having arisen between the emperor and the French king, they had, as contrahents of the league of London, applied to the King of England, who, to compose their differences, had sent Cardinal Wolsey to Calais, and it was proved, that the aggressions had first been committed by the French. Wolsey failing to effect a reconciliation, and Francis having violated his faith to Henry by sending the Duke of Albany to Scotland, and also by molesting the English trade, it was agreed that Charles and Henry should unite in the prosecution of the war against France; and, in order to render their alliance the more effectual and permanent, it was likewise agreed that Charles should, in due

time, be married to the Princess Mary, or forfeit five hundred thousand crowns if he failed in this engagement. The daughter of Henry had formerly been betrothed to the unborn heir of Francis, but the occurrence of war had dissolved that contract. The most remarkable article, however, in the treaty of Windsor, is an agreement on the part, respectively, of the two sovereigns, to constitute Cardinal Wolsey judge and arbiter of their differences; and they empowered him to pronounce the sentence of excommunication on the first that infringed the articles of the contract.

XXIII. During the emperor's residence in England, Henry set no limits to his munificence: a continual succession of those gorgeous entertainments, in which he himself so much delighted, afforded to his guest opportunities of practising that meretricious affability which captivates the affections of the vulgar; while he secured by gifts and vails a lease of the good-will and praise of the courtiers. Surrey was recalled from Ireland to be employed in the war. It was alleged, that between him and Wolsey there was a secret antipathy. If this was the case, the conduct of the Cardinal was certainly magnanimous towards this courageous and decisive man. He kept him employed in situations of the highest trust, and enabled him to acquire that lofty renown, which still exhibits him to posterity as one of the greatest warriors that England has produced. He was,

at this time, appointed admiral of the combined English and Imperial fleet, from which, while the emperor was with the king, he made two descents on the coast of France, and returned with much booty. He afterwards conveyed the emperor to Spain with a fleet of one hundred and eighty men of war, the largest that had ever before departed from the shores of England.

XXIV. It has been said, that, although Charles appeared to treat Wolsey with so much deference, one of the objects of his visit was to ingratiate himself more intimately with Henry, and to acquire an interest in his affections beyond the influence of the favourite. But this is not probable. The visit had been concerted by Wolsey himself, and nothing had occurred which could induce the emperor to expect, or to desire, a change in the councils and system of England. It is true, that, at this period, the active genius of the Cardinal was felt throughout all Europe; and that he arrogated a degree of mastery over the particular affairs of England, which the constitution was not supposed to have vested, even then, in the prerogatives of the crown. But Henry, always fervent in his attachments, was proud of the great qualities and zeal of his minister, and alike regardless of the insinuations of envy, the venom of malice, and the craft of diplomatic depravity. He had too much discernment not to perceive the blemishes of Wolsey's character, his surpassing ostentation, pride of

superiority, and love of luxury; but these spots were lost in the lustre of his general merits.

XXV. Surrey, after conveying the emperor to Spain, landed on the coast of France a force of about seven thousand men, who plundered the town, and destroyed the ships, in the harbour of Morlaix. Having re-embarked, he came to Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, where he conferred the honour of knighthood on several officers who had signalized themselves in that exploit; for the practices of chivalry still prevailed, and knights in arms were qualified to dub the distinguished soldier on the field.

XXVI. The war, in the meantime, against Francis, was resolved to be prosecuted at all points. Orders were issued to ascertain the full strength of the kingdom. An exhibition was made of all the arms; the number of persons above the age of sixteen was reckoned; and the names of the lords of manors, as well as of all the beneficed clergy, were taken. Aliens were, at the same time, obliged to register with the magistrates an account of their families, their professions, and the occasion of their residence in England. The result enabled the Cardinal to know the extent of his resources; and, in order to avail himself of them, the Convocation and Parliament were summoned to meet.

XXVII. The Convocation of the clergy anciently consisted of two chambers like the Parliament. In the upper, sat the archbishops, bishops,

and mitred abbots; and in the lower, the deans with the inferior graduates. With the king's writ for calling the Parliament, an order was sent to the archbishops to summon the Convocation, but the day of meeting was not mentioned in the royal order. The clergy, affecting to be independent of the crown, did not choose that it should appear that they were particularly controlled in the assembling of the Convocation. The will of the king, as to the day of meeting, was, in consequence, privately communicated to the archbishops, who, in their writs, informed their respective provinces when and where to assemble. On this occasion, Wolsey, by virtue of his legantine superiority, regulated the Convocation. The clergy met according to the summons of the archbishops in St Paul's, London; but the Cardinal obliged them to adjourn their meeting to Westminster Abbey, where he explained to them the causes which required their attention and deliberation.

XXVIII. He expatiated on the obligations which the church lay under to the king, for suppressing the schism which was likely to have arisen in the days of Julius; but particularly for that excellent book which he had written in defence of the faith, and which they had all so becomingly declared to be inestimable. "Now," said the Cardinal, "as he is engaged in a war with the French king, who has sent the Duke of Albany into Scotland to invade England from that quarter, it is proper that

his clergy should show the sincerity of their gratitude, and prove themselves sensible of the happiness of having such a sovereign, by granting him something, as much beyond all precedent as they have affirmed that he has transcended all kings." He concluded by proposing, that they should engage to pay him yearly, for five years, a sum equal to the tenth part of their incomes. The opulent prelates of Rochester and Winchester opposed the motion. They represented it as an unheard-of extortion, which it was not possible for the clergy to pay and live. Wolsey, however, was not daunted. By practising the common modes of managing deliberate bodies; by corrupting some, and contriving occasions of absence for others, he secured a majority of votes, and, in the end, was victorious. All natives who held benefices were to pay ten per cent., and all foreigners twenty per cent. A few celebrated men were placed on a footing with the natives; among whom Erasmus and Polydore Virgil were mentioned with distinction. This is a singular fact, and proves the estimation in which the characters of those eminent authors were then held. But the general host of ecclesiastics regarded the conduct of the Cardinal, on this occasion, as scarcely less tolerable than in the institution of his legatine court; and they were only content to pacify their indignation by obtaining an exemption of their means from secular investigation,—an exemp-

tion which, having been stipulated, was, probably, not originally intended to have been allowed.

XXIX. In the Parliament the Cardinal was not so successful. The members of that venerable body obliged, by the rated valuation of their lands, to provide proportioned quantities of the materiel of war, in common with all the other lay proprietors, and having no means of indemnity for their individual contributions, either in colonial or revenue offices, or contracts, or army promotions, or any of those numerous modes of recompensing themselves for their share of the public burdens, by which, in later times, such miracles in finance have been performed, were not so easily swayed by the energy of the minister's eloquence. When the customary ceremonies at the opening of Parliament were over, the Cardinal, attended by several of the peers and prelates, bearing a verbal message from the king, entered the House of Commons, and addressed the speaker on the expediency of granting supplies adequate to the vigorous prosecution of the war. When he had retired, a long debate ensued, which terminated in a resolution to grant only half the sum demanded. Wolsey, on hearing this, went a second time to the house, and requested to hear the reasons of those who opposed the motion. But the speaker informed him, that it was the order of the house to hear, but not to reason, except among themselves. The Cardinal then

repeated what he had before said on the subject, and endeavoured to convince the members, that what was required for the public service ought not to be considered as subtracted from the wealth of the nation. The war, however, being one of policy, and not in revenge for injury received, nor to avert any visible danger, the commons were resolute, and only granted about five *per cent.* on certain incomes for five years, instead of double that sum, which the minister had requested.

XXX. But even the reduced grant was loudly complained of, and the people universally repined that their means and properties should be subject to the investigation of the collectors of the tax. Deputations from the merchants of London waited on the Cardinal, and begged him to consider, that the richest merchants were often bare of money; and they entreated that they might not be sworn as to the value of their property, for the valuation was necessarily doubtful, and many an honest man's credit was better than his substance. "To make us swear," said they, "will expose us to commit perjury." "The dread of committing perjury," said Wolsey, "is, at least, a sign of grace; but you should give the king some proof of your loyalty. You see what costly armies are preparing for France and Scotland; and these he cannot maintain unless you give him assistance, and we know that you can afford to do it very well. On Saturday next I will, therefore, send into the city

a person to receive estimates of your means; and let such of you as have more credit than property come privately to me, and I will take care that he shall not be injured." The merchants departed, muttering against the minister, who, as he had threatened, sent his secretary to St Paul's to receive the estimates of the citizens, without oaths.

XXXI. During these transactions with the Convocation, the Parliament, and the people, a remarkable event occurred, which claimed the particular attention of Wolsey, and enabled him, as in the business of the income-tax, to afford a precedent for future ministers in revolutionary times. The crown of Denmark was not then hereditary. The inheritance was limited to one family, but the son was not regularly the successor of the father. The monarchy was elective, but it was requisite that the candidates should be of the royal family. The prerogative of election was also limited to a certain number of persons, and the heir was chosen during the lifetime of the king. This form of constitution prevailed anciently over all the northern nations of Europe; nor was the law confined to crowns, but extended over the inferior orders of the state in the Gothic nations. It preceded the law of tenures; and, when the feudal system was falling into decay, some remains of it could be traced in the customs of tanistry, which, even in the time of Queen Elizabeth, existed in those parts of Ireland to which that system had never

been extended. Christern II., who married the emperor's sister, Isabella, and niece to the Queen of England, was at this time King of Denmark. During the life of his father, and while only seven years old, he had been elected to succeed to the crown. Whether this was considered by the electors as a favour which entitled them to impose new restrictions on the royal prerogatives, or that the old king, with a view of laying the foundations of a regular hereditary succession in his own family, had conceded that his son should be more limited in power than his predecessors, is of no importance to ascertain; but Christern, after his accession, thought, as the restraints upon him were greater than customary on the kings of Denmark, and having been incurred without his consent, that he was not bound to abide by them. Instead, however, of resigning the crown, as he therefore ought to have done, he so acted, that the electors were obliged to declare, that he had violated the conditions on which he held it. In consequence, they proclaimed the throne vacant, and elected his uncle into the sovereignty.

XXXII. Christern left the country, with his family, and took refuge in the Netherlands, expecting, from the powerful relations of his wife, such assistance as might enable him to recover the throne. They afterwards came over to England, and were received by the court with the distinction due to them as the near relations of the queen.

Upon his soliciting aid, however, the Cardinal advised him to repair without delay to his patrimonial dominions, and try to recover the good opinion of the Danes, and a reconciliation with his enemies in Denmark. He assured him that Henry and Charles would use their best persuasion, both by letters and ministers, to the electors, the new king, and the influential lords of the realm, to procure his restoration; and that out of the respect which Henry had for Isabella, his niece, he would as an inducement offer to guarantee to the Danish states, the reformation of those abuses of which they complained, and for which they had deposed him. The Cardinal also added, that the English residentiary at Rome should be immediately instructed to apply to the pope for his interposition, by briefs and exhortations, in order to accomplish the restoration. "But if these fair and equitable means fail of effect, then others shall be tried; for it is disreputable," said he, "to reason and good sense, that a prince should, by the wilfulness of his lords and commons, be expelled from his kingdom, without having first given an answer to a statement of their grievances. With these assurances, Christern departed, and Wolsey immediately concerted the means for realizing the expectations he had thus cherished; but in the end the cause was necessarily abandoned.

XXXIII. The Danish revolution not being followed with any effect on the affairs of Europe,

with which Wolsey was particularly engaged, is chiefly remarkable on account of the insight which it affords to the Cardinal's political notions. His expressions on the occasion are, indeed, so extraordinary, considering his situation, and the period in which he lived, that if he had not, under his own hand, furnished the record, they might justly be questioned, having never before been particularly noticed by any historian. In the reign of Henry VIII. the right of blood does not appear to have been considered as essential in the succession; for he was allowed to dispose of the crown by will, and actually excluded his eldest sister's heirs from the right of succeeding. The English constitution, indeed, appears generally to have very distinctly recognised the supreme and ultimate authority of the people, and to have held the monarchs entitled to the throne only so long as they fulfilled their engagements. The opinion of Wolsey as to the obligation of kings, and the power of lords and commons, is now an acknowledged maxim both in the theory and practice of the legislature.

XXXIV. While the preparations for the war were vigorously undertaken by Henry, Adrian, who had filled the papal throne with more innocence and less talent than either Julius or Leo, having ineffectually endeavoured to reconcile the belligerent potentates, was induced to break from the neutrality which he had assumed at his election, and to become a member of the confederacy against

Francis. But he had not long done this when he fell sick and died. The Cardinal, on being informed of his death, immediately wrote to the king, who was then on one of his country excursions, and solicited his assistance, and also his influence, with the emperor to procure the papacy. In the event of Wolsey not succeeding, the English government were desirous that Julio de Medici should be preferred; and, from the sequel, it appears, that a reciprocity of advantage had been previously concerted between these two candidates, in the event of either being elected.

XXXV. The cardinals at Rome, after spending fifty days in the conclave, were not likely to come to any decision; so that the Holy Ghost was again obliged to interfere, and the election, of course, was unanimous. Julio was chosen, and assumed the title of Clement VII. It has been, almost uniformly, since alleged, that Charles had particularly engaged to use his utmost influence to promote Wolsey to the apostolical dignity; but there is no allusion to any such engagement in their correspondence on that subject. The previous understanding, however, between Julio and Wolsey is less equivocal; for as soon as possible after his election, the pope appointed the Cardinal legate for life, and conferred on him all the papal pretensions over England which he could alienate; sanctioning, in every other respect, the measures which he had adopted for the reformation of the clergy within his jurisdiction. The character of Clement

for talent stood high in the world. During the pontificate of his kinsman Leo, he had been intrusted with the chief administration of the papal affairs, and had acquired the reputation of being ambitious and innovating, which raised at his election a general expectation of great changes. The world, however, was mistaken: many of the measures which had been attributed to him were suggested by the more capacious, but indolent, Leo. He was, in fact, but an ordinary man, in whom the constitutional qualities of gravity, temperance, and assiduity were more remarkable than the faculties which originate and direct speculative undertakings.

XXXVI. About the period of Adrian's death, the Duke of Bourbon, high constable of France, declared himself in rebellion against his king. Private animosities had long rendered him adverse to Francis; and the English and Imperial cabinets, aware of his disposition, incited him to the decisive step which he took at this time. The price which they at first offered for his treachery had been rejected; but an accumulation of petty circumstances influenced his resentment, and the terms being made more acceptable, he was induced to enter into the service of Charles. Bourbon was a plain and gallant soldier; his enmity to Francis arose from the frankness of his nature, and the want of that dissimulation which, while it degrades the man, rarely fails to exalt the courtier. In the outline of his talents he resembled Surrey, then the

hero of England; but, with all the qualities which recommended him to the affections of his companions in danger, Bourbon was deficient in self-control. The principles of loyalty were, in that age, weak among military men, and renown in arms was a higher aim than patriotism. Bourbon must ever be regarded as a traitor to his country; but his crime, in the opinion of his contemporaries, admitted of a more liberal construction.

BOOK IV.

The administration of Cardinal Wolsey now presents a various and busy scene. The principal actors have been introduced; and the secret movements and the circumstances which, in the end, conspired to hasten on the catastrophe, have all been unfolded. The narrative of future transactions will therefore proceed rapidly; and, in the detail of the military events, only those incidents shall be noticed which serve to illustrate the state of society and the peculiarities of individual character. The active operations in the field, and the eager controversies of the Reformation, excited the public mind to an impassioned degree, and the imaginations of men were infected with fearful predictions. Astrologers denounced deluges and devastations; but the deluges were the blood of mankind, and the devastations proceeded from the sword.

II. In the autumn of 1523, the Duke of Suffolk was appointed to the command of an army sent to invade France, and joined the Count de

Bure in Picardy. Francis was at Lyons, on his way to Italy, when informed of the invasion, which, by the junction of the English and Imperialists, was more formidable than he had previously reason to expect. The allies, leaving the fortified towns unassailed, marched directly towards Paris. The whole kingdom was astonished. All the troops hurried to the capital. The recruits, then ascending the Alps, hastily returned to protect their homes. But a premature winter proved more efficient than preparations dictated by consternation and fear. The allies were compelled to halt; their provisions became exhausted, and the cold was so intense that no creature could withstand its severity. Wolsey, however, was desirous that the troops should still keep the field, and, by the practice of an evasive warfare, deter Francis from re-enforcing his army in Italy. The privations however of the ill-provided Imperialists were so extreme, that the officers consented that the soldiers should disband themselves; and Suffolk, in consequence, sending his men into winter-quarters, returned to England without having accomplished any other object than suspending the march of the re-enforcements destined to strengthen the French army in Italy. The miserable and helpless condition of the Imperial troops made a deep impression on the mind of the Cardinal; and he expressed himself on the failure of the campaign, as if he thought the emperor undervalued the exertions of

England, or calculated on supporting his army at her expense.

III. The Earl of Surrey had been ordered from the fleet, and sent to command the troops on the borders of Scotland. The records of his operations there present an awful picture of that unsparing desolation which so long spread a lonely barrier of heaths and moors between the habitable tracts of the sister kingdoms. During the summer, he ravaged all the Merse and the dale of Tweed, leaving neither castle, village, tree, cattle, nor corn. The inhabitants abandoned the country to the marauders: some fled into England in the most calamitous state of distress. The bread which they craved, instead of repairing their strength, was devoured with such rapacious hunger, that it only hastened their death. Among other places that suffered severely, Jedburgh, then much larger than Berwick, was taken, and the fortifications thrown down. On the night of the sack, a party of the English horse, lying in or without the camp, were seized with some unaccountable panic, and ran about in all directions. The soldiers started to arms. The flames of the burning town threw a wild and troubled light on the tumult. Surrey, in giving an account of this affair to Wolsey, says, that seven times that night spirits and terrible sights were visible.

IV. Clement, after his election, refused to accede to the league of Calais; and declared his intention of remaining neuter in the quarrels be-

tween Charles and Francis. At this time, Bourbon commanded the Imperial army in Italy. The emperor, designing to draw supplies from the Italian powers with whom he was allied, as he did from England in the campaign in Picardy, left Bourbon and the troops without money. This sordid craft obliged the general to levy a contribution on the inhabitants of Milan, which, with other money that he secretly persuaded the pope and Florentines to lend, enabled him to take the field in the spring of 1524, with about five and thirty thousand men. The French army was as much impoverished as the Imperial; a band of the mercenary Switz, finding they were not likely to be paid, having deserted, the French general resolved to repass the mountains. Hearing of his retreat, Bourbon pursued. Between the Imperial van and the rear of the fugitives several interesting skirmishes took place; but the French crossed the Alps without coming to a general battle. The Milanese towns, however, in which they had left garrisons, readily surrendered to the Imperialists.

V. The duchy of Milan being thus rescued, Charles refused to invest Francisco Sforza with the dukedom, although he had previously acknowledged his claim. This, with other manifestations of a grasping nature, inspired the pope with apprehensions, and he suspected that the emperor meditated against Italy the same designs which Francis had been compelled to relinquish. The

papal nuncio at the court of London was, in consequence, instructed to attempt the reconciliation of France and England. But Henry, at this period, cherished the hope of giving substantial validity to the title of the King of France; and Wolsey did not consider that presumptuous nation yet sufficiently humbled. The papal mediation therefore failed; and new arrangements were concerted with Charles for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Calculating on success, it was resolved that Provence and Dauphiné should be erected into a kingdom for the Duke of Bourbon, who was to hold it in fee of Henry, and that the other provinces should be restored to the English crown, with the exception of Burgundy, which was to be appropriated to Charles. The emperor engaged to furnish a powerful army to reduce Provence; and to the maintenance of this force, England agreed to contribute a hundred thousand crowns monthly, unless the king himself invaded France with his own troops in person.

VI. Bourbon, continuing to prosecute his successful pursuit, entered Provence, took possession of Aix, and laid siege to Marseilles. The garrison, being previously re-enforced, gallantly resisted; and Francis, advancing rapidly, raised the siege. It was now the end of autumn, and the Imperialists in turn retreating, the French followed to recover Milan. Bourbon, aware of the design of Francis, made surprising exertions. Having re-enforced Pa-

via, and taken all the precautionary measures which the hurry of retreat permitted, he continued to retire upon Italy. The French, soon masters of the town of Milan, proceeded to invest Pavia. Francis, deficient in military genius, forgot that success in war, as in all human undertakings, depends upon the undivided application of means, and occupied his attention with objects that ought only to have been contingent. He detached a large body of troops towards Naples, by which the strength of his army before Pavia was essentially reduced; but as it was still superior in number to the garrison, he continued the siege.

VII. The condition of the Scottish government at the close of the year 1524, and during these motions in Italy, was truly deplorable. Faction violated patriotism; and the nation seemed devoted to be so easy a prey to her neighbour, that it is difficult to account for the forbearance of the English government at this time, upon any other principle, than that Henry regarded Scotland rather as the private estate of his sister's family, than as the rival of England. A kind of domestic interest pervades the public correspondence of the two courts; and this intimacy and affection promised to become closer, by a proposition from the Scots to unite their young king, James V., to his cousin Mary, the English heiress. Charles, alarmed when he heard of the matrimonial proposal from Scotland, although secretly negotiating a marriage for himself

with the princess of Portugal, sent ambassadors to London, in order to request that Mary might be delivered to him, according to the terms of the treaty, by which they were regarded as affianced. His affairs at this time were far from prosperous in Italy; and Solyman, the sultan, obtaining possession of Belgrade, menaced Hungary, and seemed to be rapidly opening a passage into the very bosom of Christendom. It was also reported that the pope had allied himself with the French king; so that at this period the emperor, when he regarded the situation of his affairs in Italy, and the ambition of the Turk, had reason to be anxious to preserve his alliance with Henry. Nor were the politics of England less unclouded. The conduct of the emperor had not been satisfactory. The Spaniards, eloquent in words, were dilatory in action; and the Cardinal, in his correspondence, could not disguise his contemptuous opinion of their sober and dribbling wars. The behaviour of the pope was greatly suspicious. It was rumoured, that the republic of Florence and the Tuscan territory were to be converted into a kingdom for the Medici, and to be called Etruria. The minds of men were agitated with polemical controversies; all was obscure, ominous, and perplexed.

VIII. At this epoch, Wolsey drew up a masterly view of the moral and political state of Europe, which he requested the English minister at Rome to lay before the pope. He represented, in

strong terms, the evils that must inevitably ensue to Christendom, if his holiness, while the opinions of Luther infected every country, studied, as was reported, only the selfish aggrandisement of his own family and kindred. He set forth the example of disinterestedness which the English king had shown to all princes, in suspending his private rights and pretensions to France, in order to promote the general welfare of the Christian world. He pointed out the confidence which had been given to his holiness; and the expectation cherished, that his pontificate would prove renowned, by the removal of abuses, and the renovation of the papal dignity, which had been so visibly stricken by the wrath of Almighty God, since the heads of the church had become parties in the projects of secular princes. He warned his holiness not to offend the emperor, in whose dominions the Lutheran heresies were so rife; and expatiated on the damage and detriment which the papacy must suffer, if the French king succeeded in his notorious designs; for not only the Imperial dominions, but also England, and, in the end, possibly, even France herself, might renounce the apostolical authority, to the everlasting shame and dishonour of Clement.

IX. The part which Henry had taken in the wars was exceedingly disagreeable to his own subjects. They murmured at the requisite taxes, and that Bourbon, a Frenchman, should be, in some

measure, employed by their king; nor could they conceive in what manner the interests of England were to be promoted, either by the subjugation, or the rescue of Italy, a remote country. The conduct of Charles also dissatisfied the merchants. His cruisers molested their vessels; and he had raised the price of English money in his dominions, by which the value of their commodities was depreciated. The king himself began to be dubious of the emperor's integrity; and the whole tenor of the Cardinal's correspondence, at this period, indicates distrust, while he suggests many expedients for bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. Louisa, the mother of Francis, having been appointed regent of France during the absence of her son, being apprised of the altered disposition of the English cabinet, sent a monk secretly to Wolsey, to ascertain how far an offer of peace was likely to prove acceptable. But the monk being unauthorised to propose any basis of negotiation, the Cardinal said, shortly, that if the French government was sincere in its desire for peace, it should deal more frankly, and send persons of more consequence, and with fuller credentials, to Charles, as well as to Henry. The monk begged to be informed, what the King of England might demand for his part. "The whole realm and crown of France," said the Cardinal, "with Normandy, Gascoigne, Guyen, and other dependencies, his rightful patrimony, so long withheld

by the French kings. What have you to say that he should not have all his claims?" The monk answered, that he was not instructed to speak on such matters, but he would relate to the regent what had passed, and he thought she would send ambassadors, properly accredited, both to the emperor and to the King of England. Although this interview lasted only about half an hour, and the monk, immediately after, was conveyed out of the kingdom, it was not so secret, but that some notion of its purport spread abroad, and, like all other rumours, received various additions, and underwent several transformations, in the course of repeating.

X. The Imperial minister, a man who scrupled not to aggrandise the reputation of his abilities at the expense of others and of truth, had frequently, in communicating to his master the details of his transactions with the Cardinal, represented, as the results of his own address and skill, those measures in the war, which were suggested and planned within the English cabinet. Wolsey was informed of this diplomatic artifice, and marked, by his contemptuous manner, how much he despised the man. The ambassador, irritated by this treatment, vindictively misrepresented to his government the conduct of the Cardinal, and particularly with respect to the mission of the monk; of which, instead of sending a fair statement of the facts, he transmitted a garbled account of the

popular rumour. But the clandestine manner which he took to send these perfidious despatches led to the exposure of his character.

XI. One evening, soon after the French emissary had been with the Cardinal, a ward and watch of citizens, as was then frequently the custom, happened to be held in the city and environs of London. About midnight, a man on horseback was seized by one of the patrol, on the road to Brentford; and being questioned as to his journey, he answered so equivocally, that he was carried to the guard-house, where he was searched, and the Imperial minister's despatches were found concealed in his clothes. The watchmen, unable to read the address of the packet, carried it to an attorney's clerk, who belonged to their party, and the seal being broken, he found that it contained letters written in cipher. The clerk gave it to the king's solicitor, who was also on guard that night. He, conceiving that the letters must, necessarily, be of importance, delivered them to Sir Thomas More, who lived at Chelsea, and belonged to another company of the nightly watch. Next morning Sir Thomas gave them to the Cardinal in the court of Chancery. Wolsey, it would appear, was acquainted with the Imperial ciphers; for, on looking into the letters, he perceived that others, of a similar tenor, had been sent in the course of the preceding day. He, therefore, ordered all the packets of the Imperial minister to be stopped and

brought to him: and he commanded the ambassador to confine himself to his house, transmitting, along with the disreputable writings, a circumstantial account of the real transactions of the English government, to be laid before the emperor, in order to show how much his confidence had been misplaced; and to warn him of the danger that might ensue to the mutual amity of the two courts, by employing such unprincipled and mischievous men.

XII. In consequence of what had passed between the monk and the Cardinal, the regency of France sent a public embassy to open a negotiation; but, before they had presented their credentials, tidings arrived in London of the defeat and captivity of their king at Pavia, an event which filled all Europe with consternation. The French garrisons in Italy abandoned their posts. The troops, spared from the battle, fled in amazement. The often-contested duchy of Milan was restored to the Imperialists. The Italian states, seeing the emperor thus in the possession of his rival, and apprehending, by his conduct to Francisco Sforza, that he was actuated by the ambition of being sole monarch, prepared to confederate for mutual defence. The Venetians proposed a league to the pope; but Clement, dreading to incur the vengeance of the Imperial arms, refused their offer. The maritime state, however, with a courage worthy of freedom, determined to hazard all, rather

than incur the consequences of seeing the house of Austria without a rival. In London, the destruction of the French army, and the captivity of the French king, afforded, at first, the liveliest pleasure. Henry boasted of his intention to proceed directly to France; and the people exulted in the idea of seeing the projects of the Edwards and their fifth Harry realized.

XIII. But the preparations ordered for the invasion were scarcely commenced, when messages came, from all parts, with such a description of the arrogance of the Imperialists, and the conduct of the emperor, in attempting to appropriate entirely to himself all the fruits of the victory, that the king suspended his purpose. He was convinced that the balance of power was overthrown; that it was barely possible for him to maintain the proud eminence on which he had hitherto stood; and that the events which he thought so favourable to the accomplishment of his wishes, menaced him, in fact, with a more subordinate fortune than the kings of England had ever known. It is seldom that any man can direct the current of national affairs; but a wide and earnest system of action never fails to produce results which resemble the pre-expected effects of particular designs. The Cardinal, in conjunction with the Italian states, promptly adopted a course of policy which had for its object the restoration of the balance of power. The imperial ambassador was therefore allowed to

quit his confinement, and to leave the kingdom; while it was secretly intimated to the court of Paris, that the King of England had determined not to avail himself of the unfortunate and defenceless state of France.

XIV. The first intelligence of the defeat at Pavia filled the French nation with despair and sorrow. The people imagined and expected every calamity which fear could suggest, and adversity render probable. They bewailed the captivity of their king—their nobles also prisoners, or slain in battle—and they deemed their misfortunes irreparable. The realm was exhausted of treasure; environed with mighty armies; and the noise of the terrible preparations of the English king resounded continually in their ears. The government was in the hands of a woman; the princes were still children; and the soldiers were destitute of leaders:—all seemed combined to denote their subjugation. But the mother of Francis possessed a firm and a majestic mind. Though his letters informed her that all was lost but life and honour, she exerted her spirit in the midst of the general alarm, and roused the ministers to perform their duty.

XV. Francis was conveyed in his own galleys to Spain; and his voyage was cheered by the hope that, when brought into the presence of Charles, he should easily negotiate his freedom; at least, that his treatment would resemble the magnanimous entertainment which his ancestor had received at

the court of England in the time of Edward III. The emperor did indeed give orders to receive him with the distinction due to his rank; but this generosity was of short duration. Francis had not been long upon the Spanish territory, when he was conveyed a close prisoner to the castle of Madrid, allowed no honourable pastime, and deprived of the expectation of seeing Charles. The keen sense of indignity, disappointment, and misfortune pressed upon his mind, and reduced him to such a low despondent state, that the physicians despaired of his recovery, unless the emperor would have the humanity to visit him, with some assurance of freedom. Charles had received the news of the victory of Pavia with Tiberian hypocrisy. He forbade, among his subjects, all demonstrations of joy, and affected to be impressed with sentiments which were not natural, nor such as he could feel. The peculiar malady of Francis disconcerted his craftiness. He had not decided in what manner to act; and the death of the captive would render the victory comparatively fruitless. But he was admonished, that he could not comply with the suggestions of the physicians without setting Francis free; or without incurring the disgraceful imputation of having desired the preservation of his life only to satisfy his own avarice. Sovereigns are not bound by the predilections of men; but it is an essential part of their duty to ennoble the topics of human admiration by the grandeur of their ge-

nerosity. Charles, however, though at this period only in the twenty-fifth year of his age, had survived the disinterestedness of youth, and despised the unprofitable heroism of chivalry. He visited Francis; seated himself, with unfelt kindness, beside his couch; and, by the practice of fraudulent compassion, renovated the hope and life that were on the point of expiring.

XVI. The preparations formed in England for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and which Henry, on receiving the news of Francis's defeat, had exultingly ordered to be directed against France, were continued in order to provide for the consequences which were apprehended from the conduct of the emperor. But the expense had already greatly exceeded the sums voted by the convocation and by parliament: in consequence, it was resolved to levy an extraordinary contribution, under the name of a benevolence. Commissions were accordingly issued to all the shires, requiring the sixth part of every layman's, and the fourth part of every churchman's plate and coin, to be delivered for the king's use. The rage which the publication of this exorbitant stretch of prerogative excited against the king and the cardinal, made it soon evident that the expedient could not succeed. On this occasion the citizens of London were again conspicuously reluctant. Several public meetings of the members of the corporation were held without coming to any decision. Wol-

sey became impatient. He sent for the mayor and aldermen, and demanded if they really meant to execute their commission. Because if they did not, he would himself claim the benevolence. A counsellor, whom the magistrates had brought with them, observed that, by a statute of King Richard III., benevolences could not be exacted. "Your grace," said he, "may, no doubt, obtain something from individuals; but it will either be by the dread of your power, or the hope of your favour." The Cardinal replied, that he was surprised to hear any precedent alleged from the usurpation of Richard. "But, my lord," said this firm and intrepid citizen, "many of his laws are excellent; and they are all sanctioned by parliament, which exercises the authority of the whole realm." In the deliberations of the common council of the city it had, prior to this meeting, been resolved, that the aldermen should severally apply to their respective wards for the benevolence; the lord mayor, therefore, hearing that benevolences were contrary to law, and observing the Cardinal tacitly assenting to the truth of the counsellor's remark, fell on his knees, and entreated that the resolution, since it appeared to be illegal, might be rescinded. "I am content so far," said Wolsey, "but what will you and the aldermen here give?" "Pardon me, my lord," answered the mayor, "were I to promise, personally, any grant, it might cost me my life;" alluding to the indigna-

tion it might occasion in the city. "Your life!" observed the Cardinal, "that is truly a marvellous fine word for your loyalty! Will the citizens put it in jeopardy? If they dare to do so, they shall certainly feel the king's power. My lord mayor, let you and your citizens, if you be displeased with any thing in this demand, respectfully, and in a proper manner, come to me, and I will endeavour to procure you satisfaction. In the meantime, collect the money, and place it where you think it may be safe, that, if the king shall not happen to need it for the war, it may be returned to the contributors." From the tenor of this conversation, it is evident that the Cardinal was apprized of the difficulty of his situation with the people; and also, that there was some indisposition, the effect of the emperor's policy, in the government to prosecute the war.

XVII. The murmurs in the metropolis were trifling, compared to the vehement discontent which prevailed in other parts of the kingdom. Some of the commissioners were intimidated from their duty, and others exasperated the people by intolerable insolence. The Duke of Suffolk had, in his county, succeeded in persuading many of the wealthy manufacturers to comply with the wishes of government; but when they returned to their own homes, crowds assembled and riotously attacked them. The duke ordered, in consequence, the constables to seize all the warlike

weapons in private houses, which enraged the multitude still more. The alarm-bells were rung, and about four thousand men appeared in arms, threatening with death all the abettors of the benevolence. Suffolk hastily summoned the gentlemen of the county, ordered the bridges to be broken, and requested Surrey, who, by the death of his father, was now Duke of Norfolk, to come to his assistance. As the restoration of tranquillity, rather than punishment, was the object, Norfolk, on his arrival, rode up to the insurgents, and with that manly affability which is always found connected with great talents of every kind, and which constitutes one of the chief ingredients of a general's character, he endeavoured to pacify their anger, and advised them to retire. "Poverty and Necessity," they exclaimed, "have incited and led us on, and without redress, as we can but die, we will not disperse." He entreated them still to return quietly to their homes and callings, and assured them, that Suffolk and himself would speak in their behalf to the king. At length the ringleaders surrendered, and were taken to London, and the rest, in token of repentance, went with halters round their necks to the abbey of St Edmund, and, having done this penance, peacefully dispersed. The rumour of these discontents and insurrections had in the meanwhile alarmed the king, who, having ordered the privy counsellors to meet in the Cardinal's palace, indignantly address-

ed them to the following effect:—"By whose authority have the commissions for the benevolence been so rigidly enforced? It was not my intention to ask any thing contrary to law; I must therefore be informed by whose advice this grievance has been committed." Each of the counsellors endeavoured to exculpate himself, but Wolsey answered, "When it was deliberated in what manner the money for the public exigencies should be levied, the whole council and the judges of the land agreed that any benevolence might be sought by commission. For myself, I take God to witness, that I never desired to oppress the people; but, since every man lays the blame from him, I will take it on myself, and answer to the clamour of the nation!" There was so much honest magnanimity in this speech, that it appears to have sensibly affected the king, who immediately said,—"Some of you did tell me, that England was never before so rich,—that no trouble would arise from this demand, and that every man would freely give at my requesting. The truth, I see, is otherwise, and therefore there shall be no more of this vexation. Let letters instantly be sent to the shires to stop this unhappy business." Letters were sent accordingly, in which it was declared that the Cardinal had authorised the commissions, sanctioned by the opinion of the judges and the general sentiment of the king's council, and that, at his intercession, they were again recalled. The leaders of the Suffolk insur-

rection, after this, were taken from the prison to the Star Chamber, where the Cardinal, presiding, rebuked them sharply for their offence. He placed before their imaginations the havoc and ruin which they might have entailed on themselves and others; "but his majesty," said he, "notwithstanding the greatness of the crime, is pleased to pardon, provided that securities are found for future good behaviour." The prisoners answered, that they had no sureties to offer. "Indeed," replied the Cardinal, "then my lord of Norfolk, here, will be one for you, and, as you are my countymen, I will be the other." And they were dismissed from the bar, and returned cheerfully home. Thus terminated a series of transactions which might have filled the nation with calamities; and thus a rebellion was quelled without bloodshed in the field, or that wasteful retribution which the judicature, on such occasions, is too strongly prone to exercise.

XVIII. In order to ascertain how far Charles actually entertained those ambitious and unjust designs, which the Italian states conceived they had reason to fear, ambassadors were sent from London to demand from him an immediate fulfilment of the terms of his different treaties with Henry. They were instructed to urge, that as the war had been made at the common expense of the two monarchs, their sovereign should participate in the fruits of the battle of Pavia; and therefore, in treating with Francis, it ought to be stipulated, that those pro-

vinces of France, which were considered as the rightful inheritance of the English kings, should be restored to Henry. If this could not be obtained by negotiation, then Charles should invade France from the Spanish frontiers, while Henry entered by the way of Picardy; and that both should continue the war until the king was satisfied. As it was agreed in the treaty of Windsor, that each should deliver up to the other all the usurpers of their respective rights, it was required, that on the same day in which the Princess Mary, the bride betrothed of the emperor, was consigned to his ministers, the French king should be delivered to English officers. The ambassadors were also instructed to say, 'that the emperor ought the more readily to comply with their king's wishes in these things; for, being contracted to the heiress of his crown, all the advantage would in the end devolve on himself. The validity of these requisitions Charles could not dispute; but it was evident, from their extent, that they constituted only a diplomatic stratagem, by which the obloquy of failing in the engagements would fall upon him. To the application of the ministers he returned a general, and, of course, an unsatisfactory answer.

XIX. Meanwhile, ambassadors came from Paris, and were received with great distinction and much compassion by Henry. In their interview with Wolsey, they were, however, treated more accord-

ing to the deserts of their government. He represented to them how perfidious the conduct of France had been; how unsteady to her engagements; and, but for the gracious intentions of his master, how abject she must become. They replied, with the characteristic humility of Frenchmen in distress, " If we have offended, surely you have punished us severely. Our towns have been sacked, our people slain, our country desolated, and brought low in misery, we sue for peace." With ambassadors so humble, it was not difficult to negotiate; but the design of the Cardinal was not to reduce France, but to restore the equilibrium of Europe, the great purpose and aim of all his political undertakings. The treaty concluded, in consequence, was singularly generous. It was, in fact, a defensive league between the two nations. Henry engaged to procure the deliverance of Francis; two millions of crowns, payable in twenty years, by annual instalments, were accepted for the debts and tribute due from France to England; and a bond for a hundred thousand crowns was given to Wolsey, in consideration of the arrears of his pension for the bishopric of Tournay, and the loss that he might incur by a rupture with the emperor, as he held at this time the bishoprics of Placentia and Badajos, in Spain, besides a pension from Charles himself. The arrears due to the king's sister, the dowager of France, were also to be paid, and her jointure regularly continued.

The regency of France further engaged, that the Duke of Albany should not return to Scotland during the remainder of the minority of James V. The treaty arranged was duly ratified by the king; and peace was proclaimed, in terms flattering to the national pride.

XX. The effects of this treaty renovated the spirit of the French nation. The Italian states acquired additional confidence in the measures which they had adopted, to prevent the aggressions of the Imperialists; and England maintained herself more firmly than ever, on the lofty eminence on which she stood among the nations of Europe. Charles, alarmed by the extent of the confederacy that was rising against him, and by the progress of the Turks in Hungary, hastily concluded, contrary to the advice of his ministers, the treaty of Madrid with Francis. The first article in the execution of this impolitic engagement was, the exchange of the French king, which ought, certainly, to have been the last, as the terms were such as the French nation was not likely willingly to fulfil; although the children of the king were to be delivered as hostages.

XXI. The Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, on the day appointed for the exchange, were brought to Bayonne, by the regent, their grandmother, and the officers of state. Francis was at the same time conveyed to Fonterabia, a small town on the sea-coast, between the province of Bis-

cay and the dutchy of Guyen. Accompanied by two persons of high rank, and surrounded by cavalry, he was conducted to the river which separates the frontiers of France and Spain. The princes of France, with their attendants, arrived at the same time on the opposite side. The banks were crowded with spectators. In the middle of the stream lay a vessel at anchor. No person was permitted to be on board. Francis, with the two imperial officers, and eight men, armed with short weapons, entered a barge, and were rowed towards the vessel. At the same moment, his children, similarly attended, also embarked. The spectators were silent. The boats reached the vessel. The king and the princes were put on board. The children, in silence, passed across the deck to the boat which their father had quitted. He looked at them; sighed deeply; hastily sprung into theirs; was rapidly conveyed to his own kingdom, and welcomed with shouts and acclamations by his soldiers and subjects. An Arabian horse, provided for the purpose, stood ready caparisoned on the strand. Francis vaulted into the saddle, and exultingly exclaimed, as he galloped away, "I am again a king!"

XXII. As all Europe expected, Francis was not long in convincing Charles that the treaty of Madrid was never intended to be fulfilled. The resolution taken, pretexts for delay were easily found; and no opportunity was lost, by which the

French thought they could reduce the ransom of their princes. The emperor, enraged, insisted upon the terms of the treaty; but, in the meantime, Soliman, the sultan, was advancing upon Hungary. Italy was full of uproar and war. England alone, of all the Christian nations, enjoyed, in her insular protection, the blessings of peace. In the invasion of Hungary, Louis, the king, was killed, while flying from the Turks, after a defeat as fatal as the battle of Flodden had been to Scotland. Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, in right of his wife, sister to Louis, succeeded to the throne, and a truce was concluded with Soliman. But John Lepuse, governor of Transylvania, pretending that the majority of the Hungarian nobles had chosen him for their king, complained to several of the Christian princes of Ferdinand's usurpation. Soliman, foreseeing the confusion that would arise from this rivalry, prepared to renew the invasion. Ferdinand, fearful of the consequences, sent ambassadors to England, and implored the assistance of Henry, his uncle. But, as the English government attributed the progress which the sultan had been allowed to make wholly to the ambitious warfare which the emperor still continued to wage, the embassy proved abortive. The ministers were told, that as the brother of their master would not agree to any reasonable terms of accommodation with Francis, the princes of Christendom could not unite against the infidels, and that Soliman must

of course prevail. It could not, indeed, be expected, that while Charles pursued only his own schemes of aggrandisement, to the manifest destruction of the balance of power, that England, protectress of the balance, would virtually abet his designs in Italy, by assisting Ferdinand.

XXIII. But before any decisive measures had come to maturity for the restoration of the French princes, an event happened in Italy still more alarming to all Christendom than the battle of Pavia. Clement, who, after that battle, had declined to unite with the Venetians, finding his hope of making better terms for himself frustrated, had at length joined them and the other Italian states in a league, which was called by his name, and of which the King of England had been declared the protector. Bourbon, in consequence, resolved to seize the city of Rome, not only to punish the pope, but to indemnify his troops for the hardships and privations which they had long suffered. Leaving unmolested the army which the leaguers had collected in Tuscany, he marched directly to the metropolis; and encamping on the meadows, near the Tyber, he demanded, by sound of trumpet, permission to pass through the city to Naples. The pope was astonished and defenceless. The whole of his guards were with the army in Tuscany; and he had only his anathemas to resist the Imperial soldiers. The Roman populace, however, felt a glow of the spirit of their ancestors; menials,

grooms, and mechanics, voluntarily formed a boisterous but animating array; while the rich and the noble retired into their mansions, hoping, by such pusillanimous neutrality, to be respected by the conquerors; thus serving to demonstrate, that the bold and sturdy vulgar, who have only lives to hazard, are ever the ready guardians of their country, as they are of freedom. Clement, infatuated by terror, without attempting to negotiate, refused the summons. At break of day, the army, which might be compared to gaunt and famished wolves surrounding a fold, rose from the meadows, and advanced towards the city. A thick mist concealed the temples of Rome, and overshadowed the monuments of her glory. The Imperialists advanced under it in silence. In the same moment that the resolute but undisciplined multitude on the walls discovered their approach, the assault began. Bourbon, to animate his men, seized a scaling-ladder, and, running forward, was shot, and fell dead on the earth. The Prince of Orange flung a cloak over the body, and called on the soldiers to revenge the death of their general. For two hours the citizens defended themselves with a courageous constancy not unworthy of the Roman name; but one of those sudden panics, to which undisciplined volunteers, of the bravest individual spirit, are always liable, suddenly seized them, and they fled from their posts, abandoned entirely to fear. The pope, attended by the car-

dinals and other high personages, was in the chapel of the Vatican, standing at the altar, in anxious dread of the event. The shrieks and cries of flying women and children were heard without. The rites of religion were suspended. The noise rose louder and louder. The clash of arms, and the tumultuous sounds of fighting and vengeance, drew nearer and nearer. The trembling prelates looked at one another; and the pope, hastily gathering up the folds of his robes, ran precipitately, followed by the spectators, to the castle of St Angelo. The city became the victim of the rage and sensuality of the assailants. The shrines were broken, and the bones of holy men were scattered with derision in the streets. The German soldiers, tainted with the principles of Luther, were conspicuously active in the profanation. The effigy of the pope was burnt as antichrist. But it was not on the senseless objects of superstition that the licentiousness of the soldiers was chiefly manifested. During the pillage, a furious passion for gaming took possession of their minds. Some, loaded with plate and treasure, were seen running to where their companions sat at dice, and staking their whole spoil on a throw, returned instantly to pillage more. The dastardly nobles, shut up in their houses, endeavouring from the windows, to ransom themselves and their families, were obliged to treat with every gang of plunderers, until they had nothing left to offer; and then they were compelled to wit-

ness and endure the calamities and the shame which they had vainly hoped to avert. Private mansions were not the only scenes of slaughter and sensual fury. The convents were burst open, and the miserable nuns violated in the midst of corses and blood. The lamentations of those who despaired of escaping, or were made loathsome to themselves, only served to instigate to new crimes. Some of the soldiers, in the momentary glut of appetite, with a wild hope of obliterating their guilt, set fire to the theatres of these dreadful tragedies, and consumed victims and violators together. The soldiers were not the only criminals. The citizens joined in the carnival of sin; and horrible desires were openly gratified in the midst of murders and the putrefactions of death.

XXIV. All Christendom was filled with horror and grief. Henry vowed immediate vengeance against Charles, whom he regarded as the cause of transactions such as had never before disgraced the Christian character, and of calamities, such as Rome, in all the vicissitudes of her eventful fortune, had never before suffered. Nor was the Cardinal less eager to avenge what had happened, or to avert what might ensue. It was apprehended that a vast sum would be levied on all the members of the church for the ransom of the pope and the papal city, and that privileges would be extorted derogatory to the pontifical supremacy and the independence of Christendom. To anticipate

these consequences, prompt and comprehensive measures were necessary. A council was summoned, and the flagrant proceedings of the imperial army, as well as the conduct of the emperor, were immediately considered.—When his circumstances rendered him scarcely a match for the French king, he became a contrahent in the league of London; and when that league was violated by the French, the English government performed all its engagements and obligations. But immediately after the battle of Pavia, when Charles conceived himself master of the continent, and no longer under any necessity of depending on the aid of England, he assumed an insolence of demeanour which he had never before manifested. In his letters to Henry, his uncle, he laid aside the customary courtesy and equality with which he had formerly addressed him, and assumed the arrogant style of a superior. He treated Francis while in his possession more as a culprit vassal of his own than as a prisoner of war; and could it be expected, that, master of the capital of Christendom, and of the pope's person, his ambition would be repressed? It was, therefore, determined, that a convention should immediately be concluded with Francis, which should have for its object the deliverance of Clement; and that, for this purpose, Wolsey should proceed immediately to France, in order to arrange the terms, and to concert the measures essential to give it effect. The objects of

this embassy being deemed peculiarly solemn, the preparations were unusually magnificent. The Cardinal left London accompanied by many peers and prelates, with a train of above a thousand servants, and eighty waggons loaded with baggage and treasure. When he passed through Canterbury, prayers were performed in the cathedral for the deliverance of the pope from his miserable captivity; and during the chanting of the pathetic orison prepared for the occasion, Wolsey, convinced of the instability of his own grandeur, and touched, perhaps, with a presentiment of his fall, was observed to shed tears.

XXV. The narrative of the Cardinal's journey and progress in France strikingly displays his love of magnificence, and the splendour of the age; but the details are more interesting to the antiquary than to the historian. Still, however, it contains circumstances worthy of selection, as they serve to illustrate his domestic character and the decision of his mind in public affairs. When his equipages were landed at Calais, and while the French court was coming to meet him, he ordered all his household into his presence, and addressed them to the following effect:—"You know that the king, for certain important affairs, has appointed me on this occasion to be his lieutenant: as such, I shall expect from you reverence accordingly; and I will take care, on my own part, to preserve the dignity with which I have been in-

vested. But it is necessary that I should caution you with respect to the character of the persons whom you are to meet. The nature of Frenchmen will make them treat you at the first interview as familiarly as if they were your old acquaintances; and they will speak to you in their French language as though you understood every word. Use them in the same way, and familiarly talk with them in English, while they speak to you in French; so that if you do not understand them, they shall not understand you;" and he added, turning facetiously to one of his gentlemen who was a Welshman, "Speak you to them in Welsh; and I doubt not but your language will be more puzzling to them than theirs to you. But I pray you all to be orderly, gentle, and polite; that, after our departure, it may be said, that you knew the duties of your station, and the reverence belonging to your lord; for the commendations which may be obtained by the propriety of your behaviour will reflect honour on your prince and country." From Calais he went towards Amiens. Francis having, as a mark of his singular esteem, and by the title of his dearest and great friend, empowered him to pardon all criminals, but those who had been guilty of high treason, rape, and sacrilege, the Cardinal exercised the royal prerogative of mercy in the different towns through which the embassy passed, and the inhabitants entertained him with Latin orations and triumphal processions. When he had

arrived within a short distance of the city, word was brought that Francis and the court were advancing to meet him. He immediately alighted, and entering a small chapel which stood on the road-side, he arrayed himself more sumptuously than usual, and his mule was at the same time caparisoned with gold and crimson velvet. By the time he was again mounted, the king, with his guards, had come very near. The Cardinal advanced a little way, and then stopped. Francis, surprised, sent forward one of his attendants to inquire the reason. Wolsey said that he expected to be met half-way. The messenger returned, and the king advancing, the Cardinal also came forward, and, both alighting at the same time, embraced in the midway between their respective retinues. Francis having placed Wolsey on his right, and each English gentleman and attendant being marshalled with a Frenchman of equal rank, the procession, extending nearly two miles in length, proceeded to Amiens. After spending a few days there, the court removed to the castle of Campeigne, which had been previously partitioned, one division being appropriated for the French and the other for the English.

XXVI. The business, which had been preluded with so much grandeur, now seriously commenced. Wolsey, during the discussions, was frequently irritated by the chicanery of the French ministers. One evening, while Francis himself was present,

he lost all patience, and, starting from his seat, said to the French chancellor indignantly,—"Sir, it becomes not you to trifle with the friendship between our sovereigns; and if your master follow your practices, he shall not fail shortly to feel what it is to war against England;"—and he immediately left the room, nor could he be persuaded to resume the discussion, until the mother of Francis had entreated him to return. The objects of his mission, by this bold and singular diplomatic artifice, were speedily brought to a conclusion. Three several treaties, forming a league offensive, defensive, and of affinity, were concluded. The first related to a marriage between the Princess of England and the Duke of Orleans,—the emperor, by marrying the Princess of Portugal, having left her free. The second concerned the affairs of Francis and Charles, the deliverance of the French princes, and the restoration of the duchy of Milan to Sforza. In the event of Henry declaring war against Charles, Francis agreed that the English merchants should enjoy, in the French ports, the same privileges they enjoyed in the imperial dominions. The third treaty was, however, the principal; and, both as the object of the embassy, and as the parent of events which have not, perhaps, even at this day, ceased to operate, deserves to be particularly noticed.

XXVII. It declared, that while the pope remained a prisoner, no summons for a general coun-

cil of the church should take effect within the dominions of France and England; and the two kings engaged, respectively, that their clergy should publicly protest their detestation of any such convocation. It was also declared, that any commandment, sentence, bull, letter, or brief, proceeding from the pope in his present situation, tending to the prejudice of the French or English nations, or to the legatine authority of Cardinal Wolsey, should not be obeyed, but that the bearers of them should be punished; and that during the captivity of the pope, whatsoever the Cardinal, in conjunction with the other prelates of England, assembled by the king, determined in the ecclesiastical affairs of the English, should, when sanctioned by his majesty, be valid and obligatory. The like was settled by the French. Thus was a radical alteration made in the constitution of Christendom. Leo X., by becoming a party to the league of London, had degraded the pope to an equality with the secular princes. But this treaty openly declared, that, even in ecclesiastical affairs, the political authority was to be supreme; and Henry afterwards maintained the principle with his characteristic vigour.

XXVIII. Charles, when informed that the pope was his prisoner, and aware of the amazement which the pillage of Rome had diffused throughout Christendom, endeavoured to traffic with the temper of Henry. He sent him a letter, in which the

excesses of the soldiery were palliated; and, affecting to doubt what should be his own conduct in so difficult a crisis, artfully solicited advice. To the different foreign ministers at his court he was equally plausible, but gave no satisfaction before the terms of the treaties between France and England were known. Then, in order to avert the consequences, he offered to the French and English ambassadors, to give up those stipulations in the treaty of Madrid which the French nation had resolved not to fulfil; and he sent orders to the Prince of Orange, who, after the death of Bourbon, commanded the Imperialists in Rome, to set the pope at liberty; but to take care, that from a friend he might not be able to become an enemy. This oracular order puzzled the prince exceedingly, who, being unable to expound it himself, called a council of war. The plain and blunt soldiers who composed the council, having wasted a long time in vain perplexity, at length decided, that in a case so abstruse the main point should be secured. They accordingly stripped the pope of all he possessed in the castle, and turned him into the streets, as the best way of executing the emperor's instructions.

XXIX. Before any advantage could be taken of the politic moderation which Charles had assumed on learning the result of Wolsey's embassy to France, heralds from that country and England arrived in his court and demanded an audience. The

emperor ascended his throne, and being surrounded by his officers and nobles, they were admitted to his presence; and the English king at arms claimed protection and entertainment in a speech, to the following effect:—"According to the laws and edicts, inviolably guarded by the Roman emperors, your predecessors, and by all other kings and princes, we, in the name of our respective sovereigns, have come to declare important matters; and therefore we beseech your majesty, out of your benign clemency, to afford us, agreeably to those laws and edicts, security and honourable treatment, while we wait your answer; and afterwards, to grant us safe conduct till we return to the lands and lordships of our masters." The emperor having assented, in the customary form, to this request, the French herald then stepped forward, and said, "Because your imperial majesty will not agree to equitable terms of peace; nor pay your debts to the King of England; nor set the pope free; nor leave Italy in quietness, the king, my lord and master, commands me to declare, that he and his brother, the King of England, must henceforth treat you as an enemy; and from this day forward he will keep no contract for your profit and advantage; but he will exert against you and your subjects all the annoyance of war, until, upon fair and honest terms, you restore his sons; set the pope free; pay the King of England; and leave in tranquillity all his allies and confederates: forty days' respite

is allowed to enable your subjects to withdraw from his dominions, and he requires the like for his subjects in yours." The herald then put on his mantle; and the emperor replied, "I perfectly understand what you have said on the part of the king your master; but I am surprised by this defiance; for he is my prisoner, and not eligible to send me a defiance. He has made war with me long, and never did this before; but I trust in God that I shall be able to defend myself. No one regrets what has happened to the pope more than I do: it was done without my knowledge, and yesterday I received letters that he has been set at liberty. As for the sons of your king, it is not my fault that they are not free; I hold them in pawn, and he should redeem them. And as to what you say concerning my uncle the King of England, he is not well informed of these affairs, otherwise he would not have sent me this message: I will myself write to him the whole truth. I never refused the payment of my debts, and I will act as I am in justice bound. But if he will make war, I must defend; and I pray God that I may have no greater occasion to make war on him than he has received from me." The English herald then answered, "The king, my supreme lord, considers peace necessary to the Christian world, that the princes may combine to resist the Turk, who has already taken Belgrade, and expelled the knights of St John from the isle of Rhodes; and that the here-

sies and schismatic sects which have lately arisen may be repressed. But your commanders and army have sacked the city of Rome; taken our holy father prisoner; put the cardinals to ransom; sacrilegiously profaned the churches; slain with the sword religious persons of all descriptions, till the air and the earth have been infected, and the Wrath of Heaven has come down demanding reparation. The debates and contentions between you and the French king are the roots and causes of these evils; and my sovereign has in vain proposed to you terms of reconciliation. These things, with those that have been related by the French herald, have induced him to adopt an ultimate resolution. He has concluded a league with Francis and other confederates, to constrain you, by force of arms, to act with equity; and I am authorised to offer, once for all, the conditions which have been already proposed." He concluded the defiance with the proposal of forty days' respite. Having put on his mantle, the emperor answered to the same effect as he did to the other herald; and afterwards wrote a long representation, in which he recapitulated many circumstances of complaint, which he had against the government of Henry, and particularly against Cardinal Wolsey.—England gained nothing by the wasteful wars in which she had embarked chiefly on his account: Charles endeavoured to appropriate all the fruits of the battle of Pavia to himself, in despite of positive stipulations by treaty;

and, by the sack of Rome, the frame of Christendom, of which Henry was the declared champion and defender, was nearly overthrown.

XXX. Wolsey, after his return from France, on opening the Michaelmas term, addressed the judges and the other eminent persons then assembled upon the subject of his embassy, and the treaties which he had concluded with Francis; stating, that such was the reciprocity and friendship established between the two kingdoms, that they would in future appear but as one monarchy. But the nation could not understand how it was for their advantage that the king should become so familiar with their old and deadly enemy, and abandon his own nephew, for whose behalf he had so urgently asked them for money; and they had ceased to feel much interest in the fate of the pope. The merchants foresaw the loss of their trade with Spain and the Netherlands; and doubted if all the advantages which might be derived from the opening of the French ports would be an equivalent. A new war was also probable; and the people, unable to comprehend the views of the Cardinal, but witnessing his ostentation and arrogance, began to be infected by the discontents of the nobility and ecclesiastics, whom he had mortified by his talents, and offended by his justice. Wolsey had indeed attained the meridian of his fortune. In every transaction abroad, his name was mentioned and his influence felt. The learned and

the artists of all countries came trooping to his gates, and the kingdom resounded with the fame of his affluence, and the noise of the buildings which he was erecting to luxury and to knowledge. His revenues, derived from the fines in the legatine court, the archbishopric of York, the bishopric of Winchester, and the abbey of St Alban's, with several other English bishoprics, which were held by foreigners, but assigned to him at low rents for granting them the privilege of living abroad, together with his pensions from Charles and Francis, the emoluments of the chancellorship, the revenues of the bishoprics of Badajos and Placentia in Spain, with rich occasional presents from all the allies of the king, and the wealth and demains of forty dissolved monasteries, formed an aggregate of income equal to the royal revenues. His house exhibited the finest productions of art which such wealth could command in the age of Leo X. The walls of his chambers were hung with cloth of gold, and tapestry still more precious, representing the most remarkable events in sacred history, for the easel was then subordinate to the loom. His floors were covered with embroidered carpets, and sideboards of cypress were loaded with vessels of gold. The sons of the nobility, according to the fashion of the age, attended him as pages; and the daily service of the household corresponded to the opulence and ostentation of the master.

XXXI. The entertainment which the Cardinal

gave at Hampton Court to the French commissioners, sent to ratify the league, offensive and defensive, exceeded in splendour every banquet which had before that time been exhibited in England. Two hundred and eighty beds, with furniture of the costliest silks and velvets, and as many ewers and basins of silver, were prepared for the guests. The halls were illuminated with innumerable sconces and branches of plate. Supper was announced by the sound of trumpets, and served with triumphal music. But the master was not yet come. He had been detained late in London, and the dessert, which consisted of figures, castles, and cathedrals, in confectionary, with all the emblems of ecclesiastical pomp, and the pageants of chivalry, was on the tables, when he entered, booted and spurred. Having welcomed the guests, he called for a golden bowl, filled with hippocras: the the French commissioners were served at the same time with another, and they reciprocally drank to the health of their respective sovereigns. He then retired to dress; and, returning speedily to the company, exerted those convivial talents which had first contributed to the attainment of this excessive grandeur. The Frenchmen doubted which most to admire, the mansion, the feast, or the master. Wolsey felt exultingly gratified, and the measure of his greatness could hold no more.

BOOK V.

It may still be said, as in the days of Queen Elizabeth, that Ireland seems reserved by Almighty God for woes which shall come by her upon England. Causes intrinsically similar to those which agitated that unfortunate country in the age of Henry VIII., have stained the annals of the present reign with blood. The terrible constancy with which the people have reviled, for more than six hundred years, the English system of rule, must be ascribed to the effect of something vicious in that system. Nor can this be denied. By calling the descendants of the English who settled in Ireland subsequent to the time of Henry II. protestants, and the aboriginal inhabitants catholics, the relative condition of the people will appear to have continued unaltered since that epoch; and yet, in all the series of the ministers who have successively ruled England, will it found that any one of them has pursued a wiser policy than that of Cardinal Wolsey?

II. The earliest authentic descriptions of the Irish represent them as a frank kind-hearted people, much under the influence of the imagination; enthusiastic in all their passions and pursuits, amorous, fond of renown, delighted with war, generous to the distressed, and hospitable to friends and strangers. When polished by education, they excel in the convivial fascination of wit and humour; and they are the most eloquent of all the modern nations. The lower classes are faithful and affectionate where they form attachments; but the strength of their passions makes them lax in their morality. They have little ambition, the consequence of ignorance, and they entertain for their masters sentiments that would become the humility of an inferior cast. The men are well formed, tall, and clear-complexioned; and the women are more remarkable for the symmetry of their arms and limbs, than for the beauty of their features. In the days of Campion the men wore their hair cropped close, leaving on their forehead a large tuft, which they thought added to the manliness of their countenance; and in the present age the same fashion has been revived. To their national customs the Irish have always been strongly attached, valuing antiquity more than utility. In the time of Wolsey, those who were skilled in the delicacy of their native language affected to be enraptured by the allusions and apophthegms of the bards and jesters. The chieftains retained

tale-tellers, who invented stories for their amusement; and the delight which the nation has always received from wonderful tales has drawn upon Irishmen the imputation of being credulous.

III. The feudal system was never generally established in Ireland. The English adventurers in the expedition of Henry II. doubtless received their portions of his conquest on the condition of rendering military service; but he only subdued a small part of the kingdom, and the ancient usages retained, beyond the English bounds, in the reign of Henry VIII., much of their primitive peculiarity. The aboriginal Irish law of territorial inheritance was probably similar to what prevailed in the northern parts of Europe, before the feudal system was established. It seems to have been an early offset from the more ancient and patriarchal rule of clanship. The territorial heir was not, as in Scotland among the clans, the military successor of his father; nor, as in feudatory states, the superior of the inhabitants of his domain. For, when a commander happened to die; the people resorted to a known appointed place, in order to choose another leader; and the relation of the deceased who was most admired for his hardihood and exploits was generally preferred, without reference to his degree of consanguinity. When the election was declared, the successful candidate was placed on a stone consecrated by the use of ages for that purpose. It commonly stood on the top of a hill, and had a foot

engraved on it, alleged to be the form of that of the first commander of the district to which the stone belonged. While standing on the stone, the chief took an oath to preserve all the customs of the country, and the rights of the tanist, or territorial heir. A wand was then delivered to him by an officer appointed for that part of the ceremony; and, on receiving it, he descended from the stone, and turning thrice round, backwards and forwards, completed his inauguration. The military command being thus distinct from the possession of the land, domains in Ireland were said to be regulated by tanistry; and to this peculiarity, and the usages attached to it, the multitudinous funerals of the Irish populace, and their custom of assembling in crowds on raths and hills, to discuss their public grievances, may be distinctly traced. The origin of an evil which still severely afflicts the nation may also be attributed to those ancient customs, although the causes which serve to prolong that evil cannot now be ascribed to the exercise of popular rights. Under the feudal system, the landlord was induced to cultivate the affection of his vassals, that he might himself the more eminently perform his military service. He allowed them, in consequence, not only to acquire independent property, but to obtain an interest in the soil. As the system fell into decay, the descendants of those vassals who had judiciously managed the favours of their chief gradually formed the yeomen. But

the tanistry-proprietor having no motive to study the predilections of his tenants, sought only to increase his income; and, accordingly, even while the feudal system and practices were still in some degree of force in the neighbouring kingdoms, it was considered as a great misfortune to Ireland that the lands were let at rack-rents from year to year, and often only during pleasure.

IV. Among other usages which, in the days of Wolsey, stinted the improvement of the Irish, the Brehon law deserves to be particularly noticed. By it, all crimes seemed to be estimated only as injuries done to the individuals who suffered; and as such were considered as eligible to be compromised at the option of the injured. The widow might compound with the murderer of her husband; the son with his father's; and, in all the varieties of offence, delinquents were not responsible to the public, but only to the offended. This singular traditionary rule of right, in principle so different from the divine and civil laws, is the strongest proof that can be adduced of the originality and antiquity of the Irish nation. The progress of jurisprudence tends to take criminal prosecutions out of the hands of individuals, and to vest them in public ministers: perhaps even in civil actions it has the same tendency; at least, the expense of obtaining legal satisfaction in England has become so enormous, that many men submit to considerable losses, rather than incur the charges of the

lawyers; and it has been found necessary to authorise the justices of the peace to decide those small suits of creditors, which are supposed to affect the claims and dealings of the labouring class. But the progress of improvement is slow, and the abolition of opinions, which have become habitual, like those which relate to the principles and forms of judicial proceeding, requires long patience and diligent perseverance. It has been the peculiar destiny of Ireland, owing to the exclusive distinction which England has always made between the two great classes into which she has held the inhabitants, never to have been so steadily treated, as to enable her people to acquire those regular habits which result from a long-continued administration of uniform law. Ireland has been as often exposed to the hardships of military rule as she has enjoyed the benefits of civil discipline. After the invasion of Henry II., and prior to the contest between the families of York and Lancaster, some progress was made in subjecting the subjects within the English pale to the laws of the sovereign. But at the unhappy revolution, by which Henry VI. was deposed, many of the nobility, and other influential persons of English origin, came over to this country, and took a part in the civil wars; and the wild Irish, as the inhabitants beyond the pale were called, burst in upon the civilized, and laid waste their cultivation; so that, when Henry VIII. came to the throne, scarce a trace of

it remained. The popular feuds and animosities were exasperated to the utmost. The subjects of English extraction enjoyed all the public distribution of power; while the aboriginal race, by far the most numerous, sustained the contumelious treatment of an inferior religious order, and were deemed incapable of enjoying the beneficence of jurisprudence. Continual insurrections, midnight ravages, and frightful assassinations, were the consequence. The alarm was nightly sounded; and the mischief arising from a divided people was considered as a reason for perpetuating the distinctions that produced it.

V. When Wolsey was appointed prime minister, Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, was deputy of Ireland. His father, Earl Thomas, for more than thirty years, had enjoyed the same trust, and in the course of that time the power of the family had been much augmented; but his contentions with James Butler, Earl of Ormond, had proved injurious to the prosperity of the country. In the great debate of the York and Lancaster question, they had taken opposite sides; and, by that means, spread in Ireland calamities similar to those which ravaged England. Kildare embraced the cause of the York family, and Ormond that of the Lancaster. After the death of Earl Thomas, Gerald was appointed deputy, and some steps were taken to improve the condition of the people. His administration commenced, indeed, favourably to

the interests of his country; and he reduced the inhabitants, if not into subjection, at least into awe. In order to end the feud between the Geraldines and the Butlers, he matched his sister Margaret with Pierce Butler, Earl of Ossory; whom, at the decease of Earl James, the rival of his father, he assisted to rescue the earldom of Ormond from the usurpation of a bastard. Whether, in the mode or means of accomplishing this, he had exceeded the limits of his authority, and put forth a vigour beyond the law, or was falsely accused, is not very clear; but he was called by the Cardinal to England in order to answer, before the privy council, to charges of misdemeanour. His successor was Surrey, whose administration has been already alluded to; and which was still more distinguished than Gerald Fitzgerald, by efforts to advance the authority of the laws, and to improve the judicature.

VI. One day, as Surrey sat at dinner in the castle of Dublin, he was informed that the clan of Omore was up in great force, and violating the English pale. The troops were immediately ordered out, and, headed by himself, proceeded to attack them. An incident which took place in this affair is singularly characteristic of the men and of the times. The mayor of Dublin, John Fitzsimons, raised a party of volunteers, and next morning joined the lord lieutenant. The Omores, as the king's forces approached, divided themselves

into companies; one of which, understanding that the baggage dragging behind was slenderly guarded, passed into the rear of the citizens, and attacked the guard, among which were some of the lord-lieutenant's men, who instantly fled. The baggage, thus deserted, would have been captured, but for the bravery of a relation of the mayor, Patrick Fitzsimons, a stout and resolute youth, who manfully compelled the rebels to retreat. Having himself killed two, he cut off their heads, which he carried with him to the mayor's tent. The soldiers who had fled so dastardly, conceiving that the baggage must have been lost, told their lord that Patrick Fitzsimons ran away, and that the rebels were too numerous for them to resist. The earl went instantly to the mayor in anger, and told him, that Patrick was a cowardly traitor in deserting his duty. "What am I?" cried the youth, starting out of the pavilion in his shirt, with a bloody head dangling in each hand; "My lord, I am no coward; I stood true while your men gave me the slip; I rescued the baggage, and these are the tokens of my manhood," throwing down the heads. "Sayest thou so, Fitzsimons?" cried Surrey, pleased with his spirit, "I cry thee mercy, and, by St George, I would to God I had been with thee in that skirmish." He then called for a bowl of wine, and, drinking to the volunteer, rewarded his valour. Soon after this insurgency, which was speedily quelled, war

being proclaimed against France and Scotland, Surrey was recalled home, and appointed to the army on the Scottish borders. His valour, integrity, and good humour, established his reputation as a statesman among the Irish, by whom he was long after remembered with affectionate esteem.

VII. The Earl of Ossory, who had married Margaret Fitzgerald, was next appointed deputy. In the meantime, Kildare was acquitted in England, and, having married a sister of the Marquis of Dorset, returned to Ireland. Notwithstanding the marriage of Ossory, the Geraldines still hated the Butlers; and his administration was, in consequence, so troubled by their disputes, that it was deemed necessary to send commissioners from England to endeavour, by civil means, to restore the public tranquillity. The result of their inquiries proving disadvantageous to Ossory, he was deposed, and Kildare reinstated in the lieutenancy. At their return, they brought with them a Fitzgerald, who, during Ossory's administration, had murdered an Irish privy-counsellor for keeping a record of the excesses of the Geraldines. While the murderer, after his condemnation, was led, with a halter round his neck, and a taper in his hand, slowly through the streets of London towards the place of execution, a pardon was obtained for him. The Cardinal was vexed by this unexpected, and, as he thought, injudicious inter-

position of the regal mercy; and his chagrin, though occasioned by the love of justice, was construed into an opinion, that he was hostile to the blood of the Geraldines.

VIII. Ossory, mortified by his removal from the government, directed his spleen against the means and measures of his successor, who, indeed, was not scrupulous in his mode of ruling; but often furnished just matter of complaint, with respect to his treatment of the subjects, and particularly in the non-performance of his duty towards his cousin the Earl of Desmond, who had entered into a treasonous correspondence with the French king, and afterwards with the emperor. Ossory, in consequence, lodged information against Kildare, and he was a second time summoned to London. The charges, at first, were not supposed to be of a very heinous nature, and he was allowed to leave his brother as deputy during his absence. In the course, however, of the investigation, other circumstances, of a more serious kind, were discovered; and when he was subsequently brought before the privy council, the Cardinal assailed him with much asperity; but he replied with admirable shrewdness, and that bold familiar eloquence peculiar to his countrymen. Wolsey began by saying, "I know well, my lord, that I am not the fittest man at this table to accuse you, because your adherents assert, that I am an enemy to all nobility, and particularly to your blood.

But the charges against you are so strong that we cannot overlook them, and so clear that you cannot deny them. I must, therefore, beg, notwithstanding the stale slander against me, to be the mouth and orator of these honourable gentlemen, and to state the treasons of which you stand accused, without respecting how you may like it. My lord, you well remember, how the Earl of Desmond, your kinsman, sent emissaries with letters to Francis, the French king, offering the aid of Munster and Connaught for the conquest of Ireland; and, receiving but a cold answer, applied to Charles, the emperor. How many letters, what precepts, what messages, what threats, have been sent to you to apprehend him, and it is not yet done. Why? Because you could not catch him; nay, my lord, you would not, forsooth, catch him. If he be justly suspected, why are you so partial? If not, why are you so fearful to have him tried? But it will be sworn to your face, that to avoid him you have winked wilfully, shunned his haunts, altered your course, advised his friends, and stopped both ears and eyes in the business; and that, when you did make a show of hunting him out, he was always beforehand, and gone. Surely, my lord, this juggling little became an honest man called to such honour, or a nobleman with so great a trust. Had you lost but a cow or a carrion of your own, two hundred retainers would have started up at your whistle, to rescue the prey from the farthest verge of

Ulster. All the Irish in Ireland must have made way for you. But, in performing your duty in this affair, merciful God! how delicate, how dilatory, how dangerous, have you been! One time he is from home; another time he is at home; sometimes fled, and sometimes in places where you dare not venture. What! the Earl of Kildare not venture! Nay, the King of Kildare; for you reign more than you govern the land. When you are offended, the lowest subjects stand as rebels; when you are pleased, rebels are very dutiful subjects. Hearts and hands, lives and lands, must all be at your beck. Who fawns not to you, cannot live within your scent, and your scent is so keen that you track them out at pleasure." While the Cardinal was speaking, the earl frequently changed colour, and vainly endeavoured to master himself. He affected to smile; but his face was pale, his lips quivered, and his eyes lightened with rage. "My Lord Chancellor," he exclaimed, fiercely, "my Lord Chancellor, I beseech you, pardon me. I have but a short memory, and you know that I have to tell a long tale. If you proceed in this way, I shall forget the half of my defence. I have no school tricks, nor art of recollection. Unless you hear me while I remember, your second charge will hammer the first out of my head." Several of the counsellors were friends of the earl; and, knowing the acrimony of the Cardinal's taunts, which they were themselves often obliged to en-

dure, interfered, and entreated that the charges might be discussed one by one. Wolsey assenting to this, Kildare resumed. "It is with good reason that your grace is the mouth of this council; but, my lord, the mouths that put this tale into yours are very wide, and have gaped long for my ruin. What my cousin Desmond has done I know not; beshrew him for holding out so long. If he be taken in the traps that I have set for him, my adversaries, by this heap of heinous charges, will only have proved their own malice. But if he be never taken, what is Kildare to blame more than Ossory, who, notwithstanding his high promises, and having now the king's power, you see, takes his own time to bring him in? Cannot the Earl of Desmond stir, but I must advise? Cannot he be hid, but I must wink? If he is befriended, am I, therefore, a traitor? It is truly a formidable accusation! My first denial confounds my accusers. Who made them so familiar with my sight? When was the earl in my view? Who stood by when I let him slip? But, say they, I sent him word. Who was the messenger? Where are the letters? Confute my denial. Only see how loosely this idle gear of theirs hangs together! Desmond is not taken. Well! Kildare is in fault. Why? Because he is. Who proves it? Nobody. But it is thought, it is said. By whom? His enemies. Who informed them? They will swear it. Will they swear it, my lord? Why,

then they must know it. Either they have my letters to show, or can produce my messengers, or were present at a conference, or were concerned with Desmond, or somebody betrayed the secret to them, or they were themselves my vicegerents in the business: which of these points will they choose to maintain? I know them too well, to reckon myself convicted by their assertions, hear-says, or any oaths which they may swear. My letters could soon be read, were any such things extant. My servants and friends are ready to be sifted. Of my cousin Desmond they may lie loudly; for no man here can contradict. As to myself, I never saw in them so much of sense, or of integrity, that I would have staked on their silence the life of a good hound, far less my own. I doubt not, if your honours examine them apart, you will find that they are but the tools of others, suborned to say, swear, and state any thing but truth; and that their tongues are chained, as it were, to some patron's trencher. I am grieved, my Lord Cardinal, that your Grace, whom I take to be passing wise and sharp, and who, of your own blessed disposition, wishes me so well, should be so far gone in crediting these corrupt informers that abuse your ignorance of Ireland. Little know you, my Lord, how necessary it is, not only for the governor, but also for every nobleman in that country, to hamper his uncivil neighbours at discretion. Were we to wait for processes of law, and had not

those hearts and hands, of which you speak, we should soon lose both lives and lands. You hear of our case as in a dream, and feel not the smart of suffering that we endure. In England, there is not a subject that dare extend his arm to fillip a peer of the realm. In Ireland, unless the lord have ability to his power, and power to protect himself, with sufficient authority to take thieves and varlets whenever they stir, he will find them swarm so fast, that it will soon be too late to call for justice. If you will have our service to effect, you must not bind us always to judicial proceedings, such as you are blessed with here in England. As to my kingdom, my Lord Cardinal, I know not what you mean. If your Grace thinks that a kingdom consists in serving God, in obeying the king, in governing the commonwealth with love, in sheltering the subjects, in suppressing rebels, in executing justice, and in bridling factions, I would gladly be invested with so virtuous and royal a state; but if you call me king because you are persuaded that I repine at the government of my sovereign, wink at malefactors, and oppress well-doers, I utterly disclaim the odious epithet, surprised that your Grace should appropriate so sacred a name to conduct so wicked. But however this may be, I would you and I, my Lord, exchanged kingdoms for one month. I would, in that time, undertake to gather more crumbs than twice the revenues of my poor earldom. You are

safe and warm, my Lord Cardinal, and should not upbraid me. While you sleep in your bed of down, I lie in a hovel; while you are served under a canopy, I serve under the cope of heaven; while you drink wine from golden cups, I must be content with water from a shell; my charger is trained for the field, your gennet is taught to amble; while you are be-lorded and be-graced, and crouched and knelt to, I get little reverence, but when I cut the rebels off by the knees." This spirited retaliation touched the Cardinal's pride to the quick; and it was evident that he restrained his passion with the greatest difficulty. The counsellors, gratified in seeing him so treated, would have laughed, but they had not the courage. As Kildare was neither to be trifled with nor brow-beaten, and the evidence was not direct enough to stand the test of so shrewd a mind, Wolsey rose from the table, and the earl was detained until better proofs could be produced. Surrey, who had succeeded to the title of Norfolk by the death of his father, became bail for Kildare to the whole extent of his estate and life. The earl, being afterwards pardoned, returned home. During the remainder of the Cardinal's administration, Ossory continued deputy, having superseded the brother of Kildare, who had been left in the government when that nobleman was summoned to England. He was a man of mean qualifications; but, by the assistance of his wife, he ruled with vigour and utility. The

countess was a woman of surprising majesty of demeanour, august in her understanding, possessed of masculine fortitude, and of wisdom fit for a sovereign. But the merits and virtues of her character were chilled and overshadowed by the vast pride peculiar to her family. The O'Neals and O'Connors, excited by the Fitzgeralds, disturbed the government of her husband. The annals of Ireland, however, during the lieutenancy of Ossory, as well as in the transactions already related, afford evidence honourable to the administration of Wolsey.

IX. The Reformation, next to the preaching of the apostles, is one of the most important occurrences in the history of human affairs. Prior to the reign of Henry VIII., the doctrines of the gospel had not very obviously affected the public transactions of the world. It was only opinions and principles, surreptitiously concealed under the Christian name, that really guided the policy of rulers and the conduct of men. The ritual of the church differed but little from that of the pantheon. The distinguishing characteristics of saints and demi-gods indicated, indeed, that some change had taken place in the notions of mankind; for, before the promulgation of Christianity, the objects of admiration were military achievements, and the actions which entitled to posthumous reverence evinced only superior talents for spreading desolation and crimes. But, at the epoch of the Reformation, the same kind of applause was bestowed

on other qualities; and the men, who manifested in their lives the greatest contempt for the pleasures of sense, were deemed the mirrors of human conduct. The change that had taken place in the sentiments of the world, elevated the priest above the soldier; but the attributes of the priest were not those of the Christian, and a revolution was necessary to prove in what the difference consisted. The Reformation effected this. The epoch, however, has still to arrive when Christianity shall command its proper influence; although the priest, with respect to the Christian, holds now, perhaps, the same relative state that the hero did to the saint in the days of Cardinal Wolsey. The history of the church,—from the age of Charlemagne to that of Napoleon,—from the full establishment of the papal supremacy to its degradation,—affords a various and impressive theme. It demonstrates the insignificany of military talents on the destiny of mankind, and mortifies the pride of statesmen, by showing that their influence is small and secondary, and that they are themselves but the implicit agents of deep and general predilections previously nourished among the public.

X. After the death of Charlemagne, the kingdom of France fell into great disorder. The barons rose in continual hostility against one another, and that reprobate barbarity, in which the vices of civilization are joined with the atrocities of the savage state, menaced the inhabitants. The priest-

hood attempted to restrain this ruinous anarchy; and, by enjoining fasts, and threatening excommunications, vainly attempted to oppose the indefatigable spirit of aggression by which it was propagated and maintained. Entreaty and exhortation having failed, recourse was had to stratagem. In the year 1041, Durand, a carpenter in the city of Puy, in Avergne, had rendered himself remarkable, and a fit instrument for the purposes of the clergy, by the warmth of his religious enthusiasm, and the simplicity of his heart. One day, while alone in the fields, a person, who called himself the Redeemer, delivered to him a letter sealed with a representation of the sacred mother seated in a chair, and holding the infant upon her knee,—a device not uncommon for the seals of monasteries. The letter was written from Jesus Christ, and addressed to the people, entreating them, for his sake, to suspend their warfare. Durand conceived that he had seen a vision, and he fancied himself commissioned, by Divine authority, to be the advocate of peace on earth, and of good-will to man. The news of the apparition and of the holy letter spread far and wide; and the festival of the Ascension being at hand, the bishop requested Durand to come on that day, and to publish his mission in the cathedral. A vast multitude, attracted by these circumstances, filled the church. Among the spectators were two noblemen of the neighbourhood, between whom a deadly feud had long

been cherished, and which had proved calamitous to all within the scope of their conflicts. Durand was placed on a high platform in the middle of the congregation. Animated by the notion of the sublimity of his trust, he delivered his tale and message with such sincere and fervent eloquence, that the whole audience presently began to weep and sigh, and to praise the love and compassion of Jesus. The hostile noblemen, subdued by benevolent sympathy, embraced each other in token of obedience to the Redeemer's request, and swore on the Evangelists to live in concord and friendship. The attendants followed the example of their masters. All among the crowd, who had been at variance with each other, renounced their animosities. Badges of tin, impressed with the figures on the sealing of the letter, were distributed, and whoever piously assumed them, became immediately converted from malicious propensities, and, in the presence of those who had done them the greatest wrong, forgot their revenge, and were filled with charity and love. The sympathy of this benevolent superstition spread rapidly over the whole country; and the effects were so singular, so happy, and apparently so miraculous, that the tranquillity which ensued was called the truce of God.

XI. The success which attended this stratagem suggested the scheme by which the preaching of Peter the hermit, soon after, was rendered still more influential. The hermit, in his appearance,

resembled the carpenter; his person was equally mean and despicable, and his face and look ordinarily wore the soft and sleepy aspect of idiocy; but he possessed a glowing mind, an eloquent tongue, and, when animated by the topics of his subject, his countenance beamed with astonishing energy, his eyes flashed with the rapture of inspiration, and none could withstand his call to arise and rescue the holy sepulchre. The consistory, perceiving the enthusiasm which his active zeal had kindled throughout Christendom, contrived the means of giving it the semblance of miraculous effect. A council was summoned to meet at Clermont, where many princes and nobles, prepared by art, and influenced by the general passion, met the pope, who exhorted them to assume the cross, and to exert their powers and faculties for the deliverance of the Holy Land. The priests, tutored for the occasion, and the seculars, predisposed by the preaching of the hermit, at the conclusion of the pope's oration, exclaimed, that God willed all to undertake the enterprise; and therefore they resolved to obey. On the same night their resolution was known, it is said, throughout Christendom,—a circumstance then believed to have been effected by supernatural agency, but easy of explanation, when the regular correspondence among all the papal officers, and the predetermined result of the council, are considered.

XII. That holy war lasted nearly two hundred

years; in the course of which a great intercourse arose between the remote parts of Christendom, and those places which still retained relics of the grandeur of Rome, and of the learning of Greece. The chiefs and vassals of the West, in their march to Palestine, were surprised by the view of arts and manners, of which they had never heard. At their return, they related their adventures and the wonders they had seen. Knowledge was, in consequence, disseminated. Sometimes they brought with them specimens of the productions of those strange and splendid regions; and the exhibition of rarities excited a general desire to possess them. The spirit of commerce was awakened; and the intercourse, which had been opened by the crusades, was, after the war, continued in order to gratify the demands of the opulent. The revival of literature in Italy sprung from this commerce, and books became an important branch of trade. As the documents of antiquity were multiplied, the oral traditions of the clergy fell in estimation, and a more precise and authentic style of learning was established. This affected the respect previously paid to the assertions of the priests. Many things, devoutly received on ecclesiastical authority, were found very differently stated in the works from which it was alleged that they had been derived; and forms and doctrines, considered original in Christianity, were discovered to have been of later growth—the corrupt engraftings of ancient error.

This moral change was quickened to political effects by the pontificates of Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X.; and the progress of the Lutheran heresies showed that the foundations of the papal structure were, in the days of Wolsey, deeply undermined.

XIII. The church was a government of opinion; and the Cardinal saw that the clergy would be compelled to resign their influence over the affairs of mankind, unless they could recover that relative superiority of knowledge, by which, in ruder times, they had acquired the ascendency. What stood in his mind as the church of Christ, was the pre-eminency of the priesthood. In the consequences of the Lutheran opinions, he did not affect to value the precepts, but only the damage and detriment which might ensue to the papal power and dignity, were the priests to declare themselves independent of each other, and consequently dissolve that mighty confederacy which had so long ruled and enjoyed the world. His system of ecclesiastical reformation is, therefore, less remarkable for its effects on the progress of knowledge, than on account of its objects. The aim of his designs was to obtain for the priesthood, generally, the same kind of influence which the institutes of Loyola afterwards so wonderfully ministered to procure for the famous society of the Jesuits. It was calculated to render them entitled to possess superiority, although directed to preserve their ex-

clusive privileges. The tendency of human affairs is, perhaps, towards the formation of a system, in which power shall be possessed by right of intellectual attainment; at least, since the period of the Reformation, there seems to have been a gradual converging of the elements of such a system. The influence of the literary character has been evidently augmented; and the unity of sentiment that is publicly propagated by the press, in some degree approximates to the effect of the systematic correspondence of the papal clergy. The first general result of the Reformation was the transfer of the political power possessed by churchmen into the hands of the hereditary class. The necessary consequence of this has been, that, as much of the detail of ruling depends upon an accurate know ledge of law and the principles of equity, the hereditary class should either be distinguished by superior legal information, or that it should employ, as agents and ministers, persons so distinguished. And, accordingly, it will not be disputed, that, in all protestant nations, the lawyers have superseded the clergy in the administration of political justice and the rules of life, in which the substance of all human power really consists.

XIV. Erasmus, with his accustomed sycophancy towards the prosperous great, describes the Cardinal's table, surrounded by the wise and learned of the age, as furnished with stars which threw a glorious brightness; but it does not appear to have

been frequented by any person, with the exception, perhaps, of Sir Thomas More, whose works continue to interest posterity. The object of Wolsey was to produce a general effect; and the history of his patronage of literature relates, in consequence, more to institutions than to men of genius. In this respect, as in his political measures, he differs advantageously from Leo X., but he is not so fortunate in his reputation. His name is not connected with that of poets, historians, and artists; but how many men, the pride of England and the ornaments of the species, may trace the origin of their best attainments to the institutions and efforts of Wolsey! The breadth and solidity of his designs and undertakings for promoting knowledge, entitle him to be placed very high, if not pre-eminent, among the patrons of learning. He was, in the emphatic sense of the term, a Statesman in this; and his munficence to literature was not bestowed on individuals, but distributed with a general liberality for the perpetual benefit of the realm. The mind is disposed to contemplate this part of his policy with unmingled satisfaction; and, notwithstanding the overweening ostentation of his household and deportment, the aim with which he reformed the laws of the universities, founded colleges, and procured eminent professors to alter the stagnant state of learning, entitle him to be considered as animated by that noble ambition which has immortality for its motive, the improvement of mankind

for its means, and the gratitude of posterity for its reward.

XV. The fine arts are the offspring of literature, which, in civilized nations, always receives some new tincture and modification from every general calamity. The interest excited by public misfortunes gives rise to the details of historians, and their narratives furnish incidents and materials for the descriptions of the poets, from whom the imitative arts derive their subjects. In the reign of Henry VIII., particularly during the administration of Wolsey, scarcely a single work of fancy was published; but the chronological compilations of that period are still the great quarries of English history. It was not before the age of Elizabeth that the records of the civil wars produced their full moral effect; and the taste, induced by the wonderful poets and authors of her time, contributed to excite that extraordinary pruriency for the arts, which rendered the early part of the reign of Charles I. so illustrious. The second age of English literature followed in a similar manner the agitated period of the Revolution; but the characteristic of the works of genius produced in the reign of queen Anne showed, that the public mind was imbued by another class of writers than the historians of the country. In the time of Charles II. many causes combined to make the nation desirous of forgetting the transactions of the Commonwealth. The study of the classics of antiquity had been

preferred to that of the historians of the preceding civil wars; and, in consequence, the style and sentiments of the Augustan age became imitated in the reign of Anne. The necessary effect of this was visible in the arts as well as in literature. The intricate and exuberant architecture of the ancient cathedrals, corresponding to the capricious and luxuriant effusions of the aboriginal authors, was superseded by an imitation of the Roman models; the style of which corresponded with the simplicity of the pruned productions of the press: a general excess of polish almost obliterated originality.

XVI. The proficiency which nations make in the ornamental arts is always proportioned to the prosperity of their domestic circumstances. Italy, prior to the invasion by Charles VIII. of France, enjoyed a long period of felicity and repose, which the gravest historians have described with the warmth of poetical enthusiasm. The hills, cultivated to the summits, emulated the fertility of the valleys. The cities vied with antiquity in the elegance of their edifices. The countless ministers of superstitious sovereignty, bearing tribute to Rome, enhanced the flow of general wealth by the generosity of their expenditure; and commerce poured her copious horn, filled with the riches of all nations, into the lap of Florence, of Genoa, and of Venice. Like the illustrious arrangement of ancient Greece before the conquests of Alexander, the country was divided into many small states.

The division exposed the whole to the hazard of subjugation from without; but the equilibrium within afforded to each a happy portion of domestic security. The inhabitants of all degrees lived in comparative fellowship: artists were the companions of nobles, for the nobles were merchants, and fostered the arts to increase the profits of trade. The general opulence bestowed the means of granting leisure to the studious to design, and to the mechanical to execute; while genius, by the activity of competition, was incited to retouch and improve its creations.—The state of England at that time was far otherwise. The civil wars were raging in all their fury. The multitudes withdrawn from labour to arms, from producing to destroying, increased the toil to the remainder, and the public wealth was dilapidated by the reciprocal havoc of the rival families. During the administration of Wolsey, a considerable degree of prosperity was recovered; but the only funds which could be allotted to promote knowledge were monopolized by the church. All the superfluity of industry, which might have procured sustenance for genius, was appropriated to support the indolence of the clergy. It was therefore only by diminishing the number of the monks, and by inducing the other ecclesiastics to become more active, that the great intellectual qualities of the English nation could be developed. While Leo X. was enjoying the fruits of the autumn of Italian

genius, Wolsey was labouring where the spring had scarcely disclosed a single blossom; but a rich and various harvest has since amply justified the liberality of the preparation, and his confidence in the soil.

XVII. Warton, in speaking of the state of poetry in the reign of Henry VIII., observes, that the marriage of a princess of England with a king of Scotland must have contributed to improve the literature and arts of the Scottish nation. But the observation is unphilosophical, and contrary to historical fact. If diplomatic correspondence and the occasional visits of courtiers have any effect on the progress of nations, the English were more likely to have been indebted to the Scots; for the court of Edinburgh possessed at that time several professors of elegant literature, that rivalled in taste and propriety of phraseology even the Italian poets, while that of London was only a dormitory of cumbrous divines. But the literature of nations is rarely improved by the alliances of princes, and seldom promoted by the munificence of courtiers. Which of the great authors of England was indebted for opulence to the patronage of the sovereigns? With the exception of the vain and presumptuous Louis XIV., there is not an instance on record of a monarch who regarded the fostering of knowledge as a part of his regal duty; and for many years a mere literary character at the levees of a British king has been almost as rare as

the phœnix of the poets among the birds of Egypt; and yet the literature of the nation has certainly not declined. It was the personal predilections of James IV. of Scotland which drew around him the poets of his country; and the ecclesiastical bent of Henry VIII. operated in a similar manner to fill the court of England with theologians. Hence the origin of the peculiarities of English and Scottish literature in the time of Cardinal Wolsey.

XVIII. The college of physicians, which was founded in the year 1518, was the first national institution which the Cardinal patronised for the improvement of knowledge. Prior to that event the state of the medical science was very low in England. It was only remarkable for ingenious hypotheses, unsupported by the evidence of facts, and for a credulous faith on astrological influence, equally visionary. The kingdom, particularly London, had been often visited by a most destructive pestilence, the Sweating Sickness,—a disease which was deemed peculiar to the English climate, but which has since been happily eradicated. The infected died within three hours after the first symptoms; and no cure could be found. The administration of justice was suspended during its continuance, and the court removed from place to place with precipitation and fear. Half the people in some parts of the country were swept away, and the principal trade practised was in coffins and shrouds; but even that, in the progress of the

plague, was generally abandoned. At London, vast sepulchral pits were prepared every morning, into which the victims were thrown promiscuously. The only sounds in the city during the day were the doleful monotony of unceasing knells, and the lamentations of the tainted, deserted by their friends, crying from the windows to the passengers to pray for them. The door of almost every house was marked with a red cross, the sign that the destroying angel had been there; and all night, as the loaded wheels of the death-waggons rolled heavily along, a continual voice cried,— "Bring out your dead."—To discover a remedy, or some mode of averting the recurrence of this terrible calamity, the king, at the suggestion of Dr Linacre, was induced to establish the college of physicians: among others mentioned in the charter as the advisers of this beneficial institution, Wolsey is particularly named.

XIX. The Cardinal was several years minister before he came forward conspicuously as the patron of national instruction. He had been previously the Mæcenas of individuals; but the history of his munificence to literature relates chiefly to public institutions. The character of his mind fitted him to act happily only with wide and prospective considerations. The warmth of his temper, and the pride of conscious greatness, however high his aims, and noble his motives, rendered him harsh in familiar intercourse, and unqualified to acquire the affection

of those men of endowment and knowledge whom ostentation invited to his house, and affluence entertained. The court happened to be at Abington in the year 1523, and a deputation of the heads of the colleges being sent from Oxford to pay the compliments of the university, the queen was afterwards induced to visit that city, accompanied by Wolsey. They were received with the customary ceremonies; and the Cardinal, in reply to the oration which was addressed to him, declared that he had the interests of his parental university much at heart, and that he was desirous of substantially evincing his filial attachment. He accordingly proposed to found certain public lectures, and offered to undertake the revisal of the statutes, which were at variance in tenor with one another, and adverse in spirit to the prosperity of learning. These proposals were gladly received, and letters on the subject were without delay sent to the chancellor, Archbishop Warham. This jealous and captious old man was sensibly affected by every thing that tended to the aggrandisement of Wolsey; and therefore, although he could not possibly object to the institution of the lectures, he strenuously opposed the plan of committing to him the revision of the statutes. In the end, however, he was constrained to yield his personal antipathy for the public advantage; and the senate, in full convocation, decreed that the laws should be placed in the Cardinal's hands to be corrected, reformed,

changed or expunged, as he in his discretion should think fit. Cambridge soon after adopted the same measure, and even exceeded Oxford in adulation. The address voted on the occasion declared that the statutes were submitted to be modelled according to his judgment, as by a true and settled standard; for he was considered as a man sent by a special order of Divine Providence for the benefit of mankind. In order to evince still more the unlimited extent of this confidence, the senate conferred on him the power for life of legislating for the university; and proposed to honour his memory with perpetual yearly commemorations. These acts of homage, in themselves remarkable proofs of the ready subserviency of public bodies to the existing powers, are worthy of observation, as they form an important æra in the history of English literature. From the date of the revisal of the statutes by Cardinal Wolsey, the progress of popular learning, and the improvement of the language, were rapid and extraordinary in the universities; in which, prior to that epoch, there was scarcely a member distinguished by any proficiency in practical knowledge. They were inhabited only by men who had dozed into corpulency over the ponderous folios of scholastic divinity; and it was probably less on account of any advantage that was expected to arise to the public from improving her statutes that Cambridge addressed the Cardinal with such idolatrous adulation, and invested him

with such supreme power, than with the view of inducing him to prefer her for the seat of a college, which, it was then rumoured, he intended to build on a plan of the greatest magnificence. It is, however, but justice to add, that Cambridge very early became a candidate for his patronage; when he was only Bishop of Lincoln, she offered him her chancellorship, which he then declined.

XX. When he had instituted at Oxford the lectures of which he had given notice during his visit with the queen, he proceeded with the design of Christ-church college. The foundations were laid soon after the news arrived in London of the battle of Pavia. This noble edifice stands on the site of a priory, the brotherhood of which had for a long time given such scandal by their profligacy, that the design of dispersing them, and of converting their revenues and buildings to the uses of learning, had been entertained several years before. The preamble of the patent by which the king assigned to the Cardinal the property of the monasteries dissolved by virtue of his legatine commission, and destined for the support of his lectures and college, highly commends his administration of the national affairs; and declares, that, in consideration of his having so ably sustained the weight of the government for several years, the grant was made as a testimony to posterity of the sense entertained of his services. By a draft of the statutes written by Wolsey himself, it appears that the permanent

members of the college were intended to consist of a dean, a subdean, sixty canons of the first rank, and forty of the second, thirteen chaplains, twelve clerks, and sixteen choristers, with professors of rhetoric, medicine, philosophy, mathematics, Greek, theology, and law, besides four censors of manners and examiners of the proficiency of the students, three treasurers, four stewards, and twenty inferior servants. A revenue was set apart for the entertainment of strangers, the relief of the poor, and the maintenance of horses for college business. The architectural design of the building was of corresponding magnitude; and had it been completed according to the plan of the founder, few royal palaces would have surpassed it in splendour and extent. The project by which he proposed to furnish the library was worthy of the general design. He took measures to obtain copies of all the manuscripts in the Vatican, in addition to the ordinary means of procuring books.

XXI. Soon after his return from the great embassy to France, he laid the foundations of a public school at Ipswich, his native town. It was intended to be a preparatory seminary for the college, similar to the school at Winchester founded by William of Wickham, and to that at Eton by Henry VI.; both of which were instituted with the same relative view to their respective colleges in Oxford and Cambridge. The funds appropriated for the support of this institution were chiefly

drawn from the revenues of dissolved monasteries. *The town had, before that time, a free grammar* school endowed with certain property vested in the hands of the magistrates, who, at the Cardinal's request, judiciously assigned it to the new school, the more extensive purposes of which superseded the utility of continuing the other. He ordered a grammar to be prepared for the use of the students, and wrote a prefatory address, in which he speaks of the institution as designed to promote the education of British youth,—an expression that seems to indicate something like an expectation of an ultimate union of the crowns of the island. This is, perhaps, the only literary production of Wolsey entitled to be considered as a publication. His acquirements as a scholar were indeed rather proofs of the generality and vigour of his talents, than evidence of the quality of his intellectual powers as compared with those of others. The length and fulness of his public despatches, and the variety of circumstances which he comprehends within the scope of his topics, entitle them to be regarded, in many instances, as dissertations on the events and proceedings of the time. His style, at once powerful, circumstantial, and diffuse, conveys so ample an exposition of his meaning, that he never fails to fill the mind of the reader with a complete conception of what he aims to produce. His sentences are sometimes involved, and often indefinite; but he pours forth such an amazing breadth of ex-

planation, that the general effect is irresistible. In this respect, the character of his eloquence may be compared to a large stream flowing through a marshy country; though the main current be clear, impetuous, and strong, the bounds and banks are shoaly, sedgy, unequal, irregular, and undefined.

XXII. Wolsey, as lord chancellor, had often as much occasion to observe the ignorance of the lawyers, as in his episcopal capacity that of the clergy; and he has been described as often interrupting the pleadings of the barristers, and bitterly animadverting on their want of knowledge. To remedy an evil which troubled the public jurisprudence at the fountain-head, and made its necessary ramifications only so many distributors of disorder and vexation, he projected an institution, to be founded in London, in which the study of law should be efficiently cultivated. The scheme was consonant to the general liberality of his views, and perhaps is still requisite. The architectural model for the building was considered a masterpiece, and remained, long after his death, as a curiosity in the palace at Greenwich.

XXIII. In the prosecution of these munificent purposes, the Cardinal was obliged to contend with the opposition and to endure the obloquy of every rank and class of the nation. The courtiers, whom his lordliness mortified into enemies, lost no opportunity of repeating to the king every omission, however trivial, in the multitude of the affairs

which he undertook to direct; and insinuated, that he excelled the other ministers only in the boldness of his pretensions. But on such occasions Henry always vindicated the sincerity of his own character, and repressed with becoming manliness the intrusions of envy. The censorial court, which Wolsey had instituted by virtue of his commission as legate, was an intolerable and continual offence to the priesthood. Allen, his chaplain, whom he had appointed the judge, and who was afterwards Bishop of Dublin, exercised his functions with harshness, and sometimes with partiality. His conduct gave warrantry to discontents which had originated in the jurisdictions of the office; and old Warham, who was greedy of accusations against the Cardinal, availing himself of some particular instance of impropriety on the part of Allen, complained to the king of the legatine court. Henry observed to him, that "no man is so blind as in his own house; but for you, father, I should not have heard of this matter; I pray you therefore go to Wolsey, and tell him, if there be any thing amiss in these proceedings to amend it." The malicious love of justice, which dictated this complaint, was probably for that time frustrated; but an occasion soon after occurred of making a special charge against the conduct of the Cardinal himself. He advanced a lady, who had sullied her youth by carnal indiscretion, to be abbess of the nunnery of Winton. Henry was speedily informed of the ap-

pointment, and immediately expostulated with Wolsey, mentioning at the same time that the gifts, which were bestowed by the monasteries to promote the building of his colleges, were suspected of being corruptly given, in order to save themselves from the visits of the legatine officers; remarking, that this was the more probably true, as they had never shown any such generosity to the necessities of their sovereign; and with the frank earnestness of friendship, he entreated him to rectify such abuses. Fortunately for the Cardinal, the appointment of the prioress was subject to the approbation of the king; and he submitted himself so humbly, in consequence of the severity of the rebuke, that Henry immediately and kindly re-assured him of his entire confidence; at the same time he still seemed to doubt the propriety of appropriating the funds of the monasteries to the purposes of learning; and he informed him that it was generally murmured throughout the nation, that the colleges but furnished a cloak to cover the misdemeanours of avarice. The conduct of Henry on this occasion merits applause, both as a man and as a monarch. He showed himself jealous of his own honour and the rights of public property, but he had confidence in the integrity and high views of his minister. While he therefore informed Wolsey of the complaints against him, he trusted that his discretion would obviate them for the future. The event was of importance to the Cardinal.

It opened his eyes to the depth and extent of his danger, and showed him that he had no other dependence than the precarious favour of a prince. He saw that the envy of his greatness, which had been fomented into malice by the success of his measures, was deadly, and he endeavoured to lessen its virulence by reducing the ostentation that served to augment it. He resigned to the king the palace of Hampton; and, in his intercourse with the other members of the council, lowered the superiority with which he had so long dictated the measures of the government. But this alteration was calculated rather to encourage the hopes of his enemies, than to lessen the avidity with which they desired his destruction. The king, it is true, after the affair of the prioress of Winton, continued to evince the same unlimited friendship as formerly, but the irritation of that occasion unconsciously predisposed him for similar impressions.

BOOK VI.

The grandeur of Wolsey continued to increase until he became possessed of greater power than, perhaps, any subject before his time had ever enjoyed. He was virtually the head of the church in England; prime political minister; the chief judge of law and equity; legislator of the two universities; arbiter of disputes between the king and foreign princes; and his income was supposed to be equal to the amount of the royal revenues. But the full and perfect round of reflected splendour was destined to wane, and to suffer at last a total extinction. In all the vicissitudes of his master's humours he had still preserved the first place in his esteem. The clamours of the clergy failed to disturb this unlimited confidence. The impartial justice of his conduct as a judge, though offensive to the pretensions of the nobility, afforded no plausible ground upon which his integrity could be impeached. His views of foreign policy reaching beyond the age in which he lived, and comprehending the interests of posterity, were

never popular; far less the financial measures which they led him to adopt; but the success of his plans for advancing the political importance of the nation, gratified the ambition of Henry; and, in those days, public opinion was a trifle in comparison with royal favour. At length, however, the same lofty arrogance of principle which showed itself so proud and stubborn to the clergy, the nobility, and the people, was to be found at variance with the wishes of the sovereign himself; and it was Wolsey's fate to furnish one of the most striking instances of the instability of fortune, and the ingratitude of despotic power, which the whole compass of history affords

II. Katherine, Henry's queen, had been previously married to his brother Arthur, the prince of Wales. Arthur was then only in his sixteenth year, but he was a vigorous and healthful youth, and he and Katherine lived more than four months together as man and wife. Their bed on the wedding-night, according to a custom of that age, was solemnly blest,—a ceremony which certainly implied confidence in the maturity of the parties. A statement of presumptive evidence in favour of the consummation of the marriage was transmitted by the Spanish ambassador to his sovereign; and hints to the same effect had been given by the prince himself on the morning after the nuptials. In consequence of this, when Arthur died, Henry was not created Prince of Wales, until it was

ascertained, by time, that the princess was not with child.

III. The political motives which led to the union of Arthur and Katherine did not terminate *with the life of the prince; but, although they* had ceased to be of primary influence, still the large dowry of the princess, which Henry VII. might have been obliged to refund, was of itself sufficient to induce that avaricious tyrant to devise the plan of marrying her to her husband's brother, then in his boyhood. Against this incestuous expedient Archbishop Warham strongly remonstrated; but a bull was, notwithstanding, obtained from Julius II. to authorise and sanctify its accomplishment. In this bull, it was plainly stated, that the princess had been lawfully married to Prince Arthur, and the marriage probably consummated; but that the prince having died without issue, therefore, in order to preserve amity between the crowns of Spain and England, and peace among catholic kings, the pope dispensed with the impediments of affinity between Henry and his brother's widow, and gave them leave to marry, or even, if already united, confirmed their marriage. Many of the cardinals disapproved of this extraordinary concession; but, as it was thought to promote the interests of the papacy, their opposition was ineffectual, and soon hushed. It was imagined that the future kings of England, descendants of this marriage, would be induced to main-

tain that authority from which their right to the crown was derived. But the design, in the sequel, proved fatal to the fraudulent system which it was expected so essentially to support.

IV. Soon after the union of Henry and Katherine, the old king began to doubt the rectitude of what he had done, and his conscience grew so irksome and unquiet, that when the prince attained the age of fourteen, at which period the law allows the heirs of the English throne to exercise the rights of judgment, he commanded him to protest that, being under age, he had been married to the Princess Katherine, but now he did not confirm that marriage; on the contrary, that he intended to make it void. This protestation was made in presence of many of the nobility and clergy. Not satisfied with merely obtaining the avowal of an intention, the king, as he lay on his death-bed, earnestly exhorted the prince to break off the incestuous connexion. An exhortation, in itself so solemn and penitential, though it might be neglected in the thoughtlessness of youth, was calculated to return upon the imagination with increased effect, when recalled by occurrences that might be construed into manifestations of the Divine displeasure.

V. One of the first questions which, after the death of Henry VII., came before the council, was whether the marriage should be annulled or consummated. The arguments for the consummation

prevailed; and moral delicacy was sacrificed to political expediency. The king was again married to his brother's widow, and their public coronation followed. From that time, the legality of the connexion remained undisputed, and several children, of whom the Princess Mary alone survived, were the issue.

VI. Katherine having fallen into ill health, Henry had for several years deserted her bed. Seeing no likelihood of her giving a male heir to the crown, he became restless in mind, and imagined that the curse pronounced in Scripture against the man who takes his brother's wife, had come upon them, and that he was fated to die childless. The marriage having been hitherto undisputed, he was not led to think of dissolving it till the year 1527, when, in the progress of the treaty of affinity negotiated with Francis, the French minister objected to the legitimacy of the princess, on the ground that the marriage, of which she was the fruit, had been contracted in violation of a Divine precept which no human authority could controvert. Some time before, the council of Spain had made similar observations, and, on the doubtfulness of the matter, endeavoured to justify the dissolution of the contract of Charles and Mary.

VII. From all these circumstances, it is evident that Henry's scruples arose from events which happened before Wolsey's introduction at court, and were strengthened by occurrences over which

he had no control. The king first disclosed them to his confessor, and, probably, soon after to the Cardinal; but there is no evidence to ascribe their origin to the art of the one, or the machinations of the other. Nor with greater justice can it be alleged, that the scruples were forged to disguise a criminal passion for Ann Bullen, although it will appear, in the course of the subsequent transactions, that the influence of her charms in no small degree added to their weight. The controversies relative to the royal marriage lasted several years; and many circumstances in Henry's conduct during that time served to show that he was affected by other motives as well as by his partiality for that lady. In the early stages of the business, he seems to have been actuated by a real anxiety for his religious welfare. Before bringing it into public discussion, he had satisfied his own mind that the marriage was contrary to the levitical laws. The next question which presented itself was, whether the pope possessed the power of dispensing with a precept of Divine institution? and it might readily occur to him, that the observance of any law can only be set aside by an authority equal to that by which it was at first enacted. The prerogative of the sovereign pontiff to alter the laws of the church was admitted; but the levitical laws, being promulgated immediately from Heaven, could not be set aside or suspended by any human decision.

VIII. Henry, in this stage of his reflections, communicated to Wolsey his determination to try the question publicly, and requested to know what he thought of it. The Cardinal was struck with alarm; and, instantly foreboding the consequences of such a resolution, fell on his knees, and implored the king to abandon a design so hostile to the faith of which he was the declared champion and defender; especially while the whole structure of the church was rent with schism, and shaken from roof to foundation by the tempest of the Lutheran controversies. Nor could he omit to point out the political evils of incurring the enmity of the queen's relations, and the certainty that her nephew the emperor would violently endeavour to revenge the insult which the proceeding would be to his family. But Henry was not to be persuaded from his resolution; he insisted upon knowing Wolsey's opinion of the abstract question. The Cardinal, in order to gain time, and possibly with a hope that some accident might occur to alter the king's mind, begged that, in a matter of such importance, he might be allowed to confer previously with persons better versed in the divine and civil laws. A request so reasonable was readily granted; and, accordingly, by virtue of his legatine commission, he summoned the bishops, and the learned of the universities and cathedrals, to meet him for that purpose at Westminster.

IX. If the Cardinal was of opinion at first, that

the validity of the marriage ought not to be called in question; the case was materially altered when the king's doubts had become publicly known, and were communicated to his subjects. It then became his duty to bring the matter to a speedy issue, and to hasten proceedings which involved the legitimacy of the royal offspring, and which, in the event of the king's premature death, might again entail on the nation the miseries of a disputed succession. As a prince of the church, he was bound to maintain the papal authority, by an undeviating adherence to every canon and formality in the course of a process of such importance. He is, therefore, in the progress of the divorce, to be regarded as acting in a double capacity, as the minister of the king and of the pope. To both he was bound to act with fidelity. The service of the one was contrary to the interests of the other. His situation was extraordinary, and his difficulties without a precedent. He was placed in a situation where his honesty had the effect of making him equally offensive to both parties; and integrity, almost necessarily, exposed him to the suspicion of partiality and equivocation. Neither ought the private peculiarities of his condition at this time to be forgotten. He had reached the most enviable place of dignity, where he had not one real friend connected with his fate. His unmitigated perseverance in the reformation of the clerical abuses had filled the great body of the priesthood with

implacable resentment; his steady maintenance of the papal pretensions exposed him to the hatred of the Lutheran reformers; his severe administration *of justice* exasperated *the pride of the nobility*; his expensive foreign policy made him no less obnoxious to the people; and his successful career provoked that antipathy which contemporaries ever feel against the successful, especially when success is obtruded by ostentation. The queen had long been aware of his great influence over her husband; and, as he appeared active and anxious in the investigation of the validity of the marriage, it was not surprising that she should ascribe the origin of the question in a great measure to him. Even Ann Bullen, of whom Henry had in the meantime become enamoured, was secretly his enemy, and longed for an opportunity of gratifying her resentment.

X. When the king's sister was married to Louis XII. Ann Bullen, then only seven years old, went in her train to Paris; and, after the death of Louis, when her mistress returned to England, she remained behind as one of the attendants at the French court; where her beauty and sprightliness had made her a general favourite. After the death of Claud, the queen of Francis, she was attached to the household of his sister, the Duchess of Alencon, with whom she remained until about the period when the scruples of Henry became publicly known, at which time she returned to England;

and was, soon after her arrival, appointed one of the maids of honour to the queen. Among the young noblemen then retained by the Cardinal was Lord Percy, eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland, between whom and Ann Bullen an attachment arose, and it became known that they were actually betrothed. Henry, having begun to entertain a passion for the lady, requested Wolsey, when informed of the circumstance, to remonstrate with the young lord on the impropriety of the connexion. The Cardinal accordingly severely reproved Percy for matching himself with one so far below his condition. But the lover defended his choice, maintaining, that in point of lineage and relationship she was not his inferior. Her mother was a daughter of the Duke of Norfolk; her paternal grandmother was scarcely less eminent, being one of the daughters of the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond; and her grandfather, though himself only a lord mayor of London, had married a daughter of Lord Hastings. The Cardinal, seeing Percy so fixed in his attachment, sent for the Earl of Northumberland; by whose decisive interference the alliance was dissolved. Percy was enjoined to avoid the lady's company, and she was discharged from court. Nor was she recalled until after his marriage with a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury. She was then not long in discovering that the king viewed her with eyes of admiration; but she never forgave the Cardinal for de-

priving her of Percy. She considered the banquets of which she partook with the court at his palace only as offerings to propitiate her rising influence, and the idea increased her resentment. But it was still necessary that she should dissemble; and, to ingratiate herself the more with the king, she treated the Cardinal with the utmost external respect. Her vanity grew giddy with the expectation of the crown, long before it was likely that she could receive it; and, enriched by the profusion of her royal lover, she assumed an immodest ostentation of finery.

XI. The queen, dejected by infirm health, beheld with humility the indecorous advancement of her gentlewoman; and, with ineffectual meekness, endeavoured to win back the affections of her husband. She even seemed to be pleased with her rival, bewailing only in secret that unhappy destiny which, in a foreign country, had reduced herself so low. The generosity of the people was awakened in her favour, and they quickly found out sufficient reasons to account for the conduct both of Henry and his minister. They observed that the emperor was no longer treated as a friend; and without troubling themselves to appreciate the events which, from the battle of Pavia, had changed the political interests of England, they accused Wolsey of being actuated against Katherine by revenge for slights and disappointments received from her nephew. The notoriety of the king's af-

fection for Ann Bullen was no less a satisfactory explanation of his motives; although he had before violated his conjugal fidelity, and afterwards returned to the queen, whose virtues and chaste demeanour he had never ceased to esteem. That Ann Bullen was frequently seen at those entertainments where the Cardinal delighted to exhibit his magnificence, is rather a proof of the lax morality of the Court, than evidence of any deliberate design on his part either to aid her promotion, or to mortify the queen. Towards her, indeed, he appears never to have entertained any particular partiality; and it has been alleged, that one of the causes which hastened his ruin was her apprehension that, in the event of the marriage being annulled, he would exert his influence to provide a more honourable match for the king. She vindictively remembered the frustration of her first love, and dreaded the disappointment of her ambition.

XII. While the Cardinal was in France on his great embassy, the first messenger on the subject of the marriage was sent to Rome. It is not very clearly ascertained whether the message related to the king's scruples, or only to procure such a legitimation by the pope of the princess's birth as should obviate the doubts which had been suggested. The earliest regular despatch written on the subject of the divorce is dated five months posterior. By it the king's agents at Rome appear

to have been previously informed of the state of their master's mind; for in reporting the opinion of the learned as to the illegality of dispensations granted contrary to the divine laws, the Cardinal urges the expediency of allowing a divorce to pass, not only to avert the future miseries of a disputed succession, but to appease the inquietude of the king's conscience. Nor were bribes omitted to procure the compliance of his holiness; who granted, in consequence, a commission to investigate the case, and to proceed with the business in England. Before it arrived, Henry transmitted an application for a special legate to be sent to London for the purpose. This new request was communicated by the pope to two of the cardinals; and, in a conference held with them in presence of the English agents, he expressed himself to the following effect:—"Wolsey, by the commission already issued, or by his extraordinary general legatine authority, is, I conceive, fully empowered to proceed in this affair. If the king in his own conscience be convinced of the rectitude of his intentions, and there is no doctor in the world more able to settle the point than himself, he should accelerate judgment, and then send for a legate to confirm what he has done. For it will be easier to ratify what cannot be recalled, than to terminate such a process in the court of Rome. The queen may protest against the place and the judge, by which, in the course of law, I shall be obliged to prohibit the king from marrying

while the suit is pending, and must revoke the trial to Rome. But if judgment were given in England, and the king married to another wife, very good reasons might be found to justify the confirmation of a decision that had gone so far." This equivocal mode of proceeding was not agreeable to Henry; and Wolsey informed the pope that the king was resolved that the business should be so conducted as to prevent all discontent at home and cavilling abroad. He therefore entreated that another cardinal might be joined with him in the commission for the trial. This application was the result of a debate which had taken place in the English cabinet on the arrival of the first commission. It was apprehended, that if Wolsey were to give sentence in the king's favour, the pope, being then on all sides surrounded by the emperor's forces, might be deterred from confirming it; and it was intimated, in the course of the discussion, that if his holiness continued to act in a manner subservient to the will of Charles, some other way must be found to relieve the mind of the king. What that way was likely to be, the Cardinal was well aware, and in consequence addressed Clement with uncommon vehemence and eloquent anxiety. He entreated his holiness as if he were prostrate at his feet; that if he thought him a Christian, a good cardinal, and not unworthy of that dignity; a promoter of justice, or believed that he desired his own eternal salvation; to grant kindly and

speedily the king's earnest request; "which, if I did not know," said Wolsey, "to be just and right, I would undergo any hazard of punishment rather than promote it. And I fear, if the king find you so overawed by the emperor as not to allow what all Christendom considers as authorised by divine authority, that he, and other Christian princes, will not only contemn, but curtail the apostolical power." The result of this and other representations to the same purpose, with the more effectual advocacy of tangible motives, was the appointment of Cardinal Campeggio to go to England, in order to try the validity of the marriage in conjunction with Wolsey. This prelate held the bishopric of Salisbury, and was supposed to be favourable to the wishes of the English court; but in the sequel he acted with independence and perhaps integrity.

XIII. Katherine in the meantime was not idle. She informed Charles of her situation, and received the strongest assurances of his support. The people also were strenuous in her cause. Her gentle manners, innocent infirmities, and deserted condition, excited their compassion, and roused their indignation to such a degree against those whom they considered her enemies, that the king found it necessary to make a public declaration of his motives to the peers, the clergy, the judges, and lawyers of the realm. "It is now almost twenty years," said he, "since we began our reign among

you; in the course of which we have, by the assistance of Providence, so behaved ourself, that we hope you have no cause to complain, nor our enemies to glory. No foreign power has attempted to injure you with impunity; nor have we employed our arms without victory. Whether you regard the fruits of peace or the trophies of war, we dare boldly aver, that we have shown ourselves not unworthy of our ancestors. But when we reflect on the end of frail life, we are surprised by fear lest the miseries of future times obscure the splendour and memory of our present felicity. We see here many who, by their age, may have been witnesses of the late civil wars, which, for eighty years together, so dreadfully afflicted this kingdom. No man knew whom to acknowledge for his sovereign, until the happy union of our parents removed the cause of this doubt. Consider, then, whether, after our death, you may hope for better days than when the factions of York and Lancaster distracted the nation?—We have a daughter, whom we the more affectionately love because she is our only child. But it is proper to inform you, that, treating with the French king concerning a match with her and our godson, Henry Duke of Orleans, one of his privy-counsellors objected to the legitimacy of the princess, her mother having been married to our deceased brother; alleging, at the same time, that the marriage with our queen could not be deemed otherwise

than incestuous. How much this allegation afflicted us, God, the searcher of hearts, only knows. For the question affected not only our consort and daughter, but implied the danger of eternal punishment to our souls, if, after being admonished of such horrible incest, we did not endeavour to amend. For your parts, you cannot but foresee the evils with which this matter is pregnant to you and your posterity. Desirous of being resolved on a point so important, we first conferred with our friends, and then with men the most learned in human and divine laws; but they gave no satisfaction, and only left us more perplexed. We then had recourse to the pope, and procured the venerable legate, who has lately arrived from Rome, to investigate the case. For the queen, whatever may be the detractions of women and tatlers, we willingly and openly profess that, because in nobleness of mind she far transcends the greatness of her birth, were we now at liberty and free to choose, among all the beauties of the world, we would not, as we take God to witness, make choice of any other. In mildness, prudence, sanctity of mind, and conversation, she is not to be paralleled. But we were given to the world for other ends than the pursuit of our own pleasure. We, therefore, prefer the hazard of uncertain trial, rather than commit impiety against Heaven, and ingratitude against our country, the weal and safety of which every man should prefer before his life and

fortune."—This oration affected the audience in different ways: some lamented the king's anxiety, but many more the situation of the queen, and all doubted and feared the result. The boisterous generosity of the people, decidedly in her favour, was not easily controlled; and the declaration of the king was treated by them as an attempt to conceal a gross and an adulterous passion.

XIV. In the beginning of the year 1529, the pope was seized with a violent disorder, from which he was not expected to recover. Wolsey, on hearing of this, immediately began to canvass for the papal chair, and the correspondence which he held for this purpose serves to illustrate the bias of his ambition, and to show the objects to which he would have directed his attention in the event of attaining the supreme dignity. In one of his letters he charges his agents to procure access to the pope; and, though he were in the very agony of death, to propose two things to him: first, that he would command all the princes of Christendom to lay down their arms. "His holiness," says he, "can do nothing more meritorious for the good of his soul than to close his life with so holy an act; and, secondly, that he would promote the king's business as a thing essential to the clearing of his conscience towards God." But the pope recovered, and, offended by the eagerness with which the Cardinal aspired to succeed him, was little disposed to take his advice. Pressed on the one hand by

the queen's relations, who urged him to avocate the cause to Rome, and on the other by Henry, who was equally solicitous that it should be brought to an immediate decision, he adopted a procrastinating policy; and, by the address of Campeggio, the year was far advanced before the requisite arrangements for the trial were completed.

XV. The sovereign of a powerful kingdom, accustomed to absolute sway, and under no apprehensions from any foreign power, freely submitting to be cited before a tribunal erected within his own dominions, for the purpose of determining a cause in which his own honour and happiness were so deeply involved, was a spectacle equally singular and interesting, and calculated to arrest the attention of all descriptions of men. The thirty-first day of May was fixed for opening the court; and the hall of the Blackfriars convent in London, where the parliament in those days usually assembled, was prepared for the occasion. At the upper end hung a canopy; under which, on an elevated platform, the king sat in a chair of state. The queen was seated at some distance, a little lower. In front of the king, but three steps beneath him, and so placed that the one appeared on his right hand, and the other on his left, Wolsey and Campeggio were placed; and at their feet several clerks and officers; before whom, and within the bar, were the prelates of the realm. Without the bar, on one side, stood the advocates and proc-

tors of the king; and on the other those appointed *for the queen. The sides of the hall were occupied* with successive tiers of benches, which were crowded to a great height with all the most illustrious and noble persons of the nation.

XVI. Silence being proclaimed, the commission of the legates was read, and an officer, called the apparitor, cried aloud, "Henry, King of England, come into the court." The king answered, "Here I am." The queen was then also summoned, but she made no reply. Rising from her chair, she descended to the floor, and walked around the court. Not a breathing was heard. When she came opposite to the king, she knelt down, and addressed him to the following effect:—"I humbly beseech your majesty to extend to me your wonted clemency. I am a helpless woman and a stranger, born out of your dominions, and destitute of friends and counsel. I cannot plead for myself, and I know not whom to employ. Those who are retained for me are only such as you have been pleased to appoint. They are your own subjects; and who can believe that they shall be able to withstand your will and pleasure? Alas! sir, in what have I offended, that, after twenty years spent in peaceable wedlock, and having born to you so many children, you should think of putting me away? I was, I confess, the widow of your brother, if she can be accounted a widow whom her husband never knew; for I take Almighty God to witness, that I

came to your bed an unblemished virgin. How I *have behaved myself I am willing to appeal* even to those who wish me the least good. Certainly, whatever their verdict may be, you have always found me a most faithful servant, I may rather say, than wife, having never to my knowledge opposed even in appearacce your will. I always loved, without regard to their merits, those whom you favoured. I so anxiously contributed to your happiness, that I fear I have offended God in studying your inclinations too much, and not by neglecting any duty. By my fidelity, if ever you thought it worthy of regard,—by our common issue, and by the memory of your father, which you sometimes held dear,—I implore you to defer the proceedings of this cause until I have consulted my friends in Spain. If then, in justice, it shall be thought meet to send me from you, a part of whom I have so long been, and the apprehension is more terrible than death, I will continue my long-observed obedience, and submit.—But when I reflect on the reputation of our fathers, by whose endeavours our union was formed, I hope confidently of my cause. Your father, for his admirable wisdom, was accounted a second Solomon. Nor can Spain, throughout the whole succession of the sovereigns of all her kingdoms, produce any one to parallel mine. What kind of counsellors must we think those princes had, that all should, as it were, conspire to hurl us into incestuous sin. No question was then

made of the lawfulness of our marriage; and yet those times afforded learned men, who, in holiness and love of truth, far surpassed the flatterers of these in which we now live."—She then rose, and, making obeisance to the king, hastened out of the court. She had not, however, proceeded far, when the king commanded the apparitor to call her back. Without attending to the summons, she still went forward. A gentleman, on whose arm she leaned, observed, that she was called. "I hear it very well," she replied, "but on, on, go you on. Let them proceed against me as they please; I am resolved not to stay." Nor could she be afterwards persuaded to appear a second time.

XVII. "In the queen's absence," said Henry, addressing himself to the audience, "I will freely declare to you all, that she has been uniformly as true, as obedient, and as dutiful a wife, as I could wish or desire. She has all the virtues that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of inferior condition. Her birth is, indeed, not more noble than her qualities." Wolsey, conceiving that some of Katherine's insinuations were directed towards him, entreated the king to declare, whether he had either been the first or the chief mover in the business, as suspicions to that effect were entertained. "My Lord Cardinal," answered Henry, "I can well excuse you: so far from being a mover, you have been rather against me. The first cause was the disturbance produced

in my mind by the doubts which the French minister entertained of the legitimacy of my daughter. His doubts engendered such scruples in my bosom that I became greatly perplexed. I began to think myself in danger of God's indignation, which appeared already manifest; for all the sons that my wife brought to me were cut off immediately after they came into the world. Being thus tossed on the waves of doubtful thought, and despairing of having any other issue by the queen, it became my duty to consider the state of the kingdom, and the calamities of a disputed succession. I, therefore, conceived it to be good for the ease of my conscience, and also for the security of the nation, to ascertain, in the event of my marriage proving unlawful, whether I might take another wife. And it is this point which we are about to try by the learning and wisdom of you the prelates and pastors of the kingdom. To you I have committed the judgment, and to your decision I am willing to submit. My Lord of Lincoln," said he, addressing the bishop of that see, "it was first to you in confession that I communicated my scruples; and as you were yourself in doubt, you advised me to consult all these my lords; upon which I moved you, my Lord of Canterbury, as metropolitan, to put the question to the bishops; and all your opinions granted under your respective seals are here to be exhibited." The king having delivered this address the court adjourned.

XVIII. Katherine persisted in her resolution of never again entering the court. To the monitory letters citing her to attend, and threatening her with the consequences of contumacy, she replied by appealing to the pope, excepting to the place of trial, to the judges, and to her counsel, and desiring that the cause might be heard at Rome. She was declared contumacious, and the legates proceeded in the process. Notwithstanding her solemn assertions respecting the non-consummation of her first marriage, probability and the testimonies of the witnesses were against her; and the evidence was as distinct as the case admitted, or could have been expected, after the lapse of such a period of time. Meanwhile she wrote to her nephew the emperor, and to his brother the King of Hungary, earnestly entreating them to procure an avocation of the cause to Rome, and declaring that she would suffer any thing, even death itself, rather than submit to a divorce. In consequence of these representations, Charles and Ferdinand sent orders to their ambassadors, to allow the pope no rest until he consented to the avocation. The emperor threatened that he would regard a sentence against his aunt as a dishonour done to his family, and would lose his throne rather than endure it. At the same time, Cardinal Campeggio secretly informed his holiness of the proceedings in England, and likewise urged the avocation. The reasons alleged

by the queen for appealing, were in themselves so just, that the pope was left without any plausible pretext for delaying to comply with the emperor's request. But for some time he was awed by the resolute character of Henry, and the vehement representations of Wolsey. The Cardinal warned him, that if the cause was avocated at the suit of Katherine's relations, the king and kingdom of England were lost to the apostolical see; and he besought him to leave it still in the hands of the legates, who would execute their commission justly. "For myself," said he, "rather than be swayed by fear or affection against the dictates of my conscience, I will suffer to be torn in pieces joint by joint." Clement, however, informed the English agents that the lawyers of Rome were unanimously of opinion, that he could not, in common justice, refuse the avocation; and added, with many sighs and tears, that the destruction of Christendom was inevitable. "No man," he exclaimed, "perceives the consequences of this measure more clearly than I do; but I am between the hammer and the anvil, and on my head the whole weight must fall. I would do more for the king than I have promised, but it is impossible to deny the emperor justice. I am surrounded by his forces, and myself and all that I have are at his disposal." The agents, after this, urged him no further, but only studied to impede the issuing of the bull for the avocation, while they wrote to

England, recommending the process to be hurried to a conclusion. Campeggio, on his part, was no less dexterous in contriving expedients to prolong the trial.

XIX. The frequent adjournments of the court, on frivolous pretences, excited suspicions in the breast of Henry; and he began to think, that the despatches of Wolsey evinced a greater degree of anxiety for the interests of the church than for those of his sovereign. This idea led him to treat the Cardinal with less cordiality,—a change which the keen-sighted enmity of the courtiers did not fail to observe and to promote by every art. Wolsey was not blind to the slippery verge on which he stood, nor unaffected by those altered looks which were regarded as the omens of his fall. One day returning in his barge from the trial at Blackfriars to his residence in Westminster, the Bishop of Carlisle, who accompanied him, happened to complain of the excessive heat of the weather. "If you were so chafed, my lord, as I have been to-day, you would be warm indeed," said the Cardinal, alluding to a conversation which he had immediately before held with Henry. As soon as he entered his house, he undressed, and went to bed. He had not, however, lain long down, when Lord Rochford, the father of Ann Bullen, came to him from the king, with a command, that he and Campeggio should immediately repair to Katherine, and exhort her to retire into some religious house, ra-

ther than undergo the disgrace of a public divorce. "You and other lords of the council," exclaimed Wolsey, "have put fancies into the king's head, which trouble all the nation, and for which, in the end, you will receive but little recompense." Rochford, as if conscious of deserving the sternness of the reproaches which the Cardinal continued to vent against him as he dressed himself, knelt down at the bedside, and, weeping, made no reply.

XX. The two legates went to the queen, whom they found sitting among her maids at needlework, with a skein of thread hanging about her neck. She rose at their entrance, and requested to know their pleasure. Wolsey addressed her in Latin. "Speak to me in English," said she, "that my attendants may know what you say." "If it please you, madam," he resumed, "we come to know from yourself, how you are really disposed in the business between you and the king, and to offer our opinion and advice." "As for your goodwill," answered Katherine, "I thank you, and I am willing to hear your advice. But the business upon which you come is of such importance, that it requires much deliberation, and the help of a mind superior to feminine weakness. You see my employment. It is thus that my time is spent among my women, who are not the wisest counsellors, and yet I have no other in England, for Spain, where my friends are, God knows, is far off. Still I am content to hear what you have to say,

and will give you an answer when I can conveniently." She then conducted them into an inner apartment, where, having attentively heard their message, she addressed herself to Wolsey with great warmth. She accused him as the author of her misfortunes, because she could not endure his excessive arrogance and voluptuous life, and chiefly because she was related to the emperor, who had refused to feed his insatiable ambition with the papal dignity. Nor would she permit him to reply, but dismissed him with marked displeasure, while she courteously parted from Campeggio.

XXI. The trial, as far as respected the examination of evidence, being completed, the court was crowded with spectators, and a general expectation prevailed, that sentence would at last be given. The king himself, impatient for the decision, was seated in a gallery contiguous to the hall. But, to the surprise of the whole audience, Campeggio adjourned the court, on the pretence that, as it sat as part of the Roman consistory, the legates were bound to follow the rules of that court, which was then in vacation. And he added, "I will not give judgment without the counsel and commandment of the pope, to whom the whole proceedings must be first communicated. The affair itself is too high for us to deliver a hasty decision, considering the dignity of the persons to whom it relates, the doubtful occasion of it, the nature of our commission, and the authority by

which we act. It is therefore fitting, that we should consult our proper head and lord. I am not to please, for favour, fear, or reward, any man alive, be he king or subject; and the queen will make no answer, but has appealed to the pope. I am an old man, feeble and sickly, looking every day for death; what will it avail me to put my soul in danger for the favour of any prince in this world? I am here only to see justice administered according to my conscience. The defendant believes we cannot be impartial judges, because we are the king's subjects; therefore, to avoid all ambiguities and misrepresentations, I adjourn the court, according to the practice of the consistory of Rome, from which our jurisdiction is derived, and that we may not exceed the limits of our commission." The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were present, and remonstrated with Campeggio for delaying the sentence; but he replied, that no decision pronounced during the vacation could be legal. Suffolk broke out into a violent passion, and, vehemently striking his hand upon the table, swore by the mass, that he saw it was true what was commonly said, that "never cardinal did good in England." Wolsey, conceiving the insinuation to be directed against him, said, in a sedate emphatic manner,—"Sir, of all men in this realm, you have the least cause to disparage cardinals; for if poor I had not been, you would not now have had a head on your shoulders to talk so con-

temptuously of us, who neither mean you harm, nor have given you cause to be offended. I would have you to know, my lord, that I and my brother wish the king as much happiness, and the nation as much honour, wealth, and peace, as you or any other subject whatsoever, and would as gladly gratify all his lawful desires. But, my lord, what would you do if you were one of the king's commissioners in a foreign country, intrusted with the investigation of a solemn and dubious affair; would you not consult with his majesty before you finished the business? I doubt not but you would. Therefore, repress your malice. Consider we are commissioners, and for a time cannot proceed to judgment, without the knowledge of him from whom our authority is derived. Nor can we do more or less than our commission allows; and he that will be offended with us on this account is not a wise man. Pacify yourself, my lord, and speak with discretion, like a man of honour, or hold your tongue. Speak not reproachfully of your friends. The friendship that I have shown you, and which before I never mentioned, you well know." The king, in the meantime, comported himself with more moderation than might have been expected from his impetuous temper. He manifested no particular displeasure, but still the ruin of Wolsey was considered inevitable. Campeggio soon after took his leave, and, richly rewarded, departed for Rome; and it was currently

reported, that Wolsey also intended to quit the kingdom,—so fully convinced was the public mind that he no longer possessed the king's favour. At this crisis, Ann Bullen, whom a sense of shame had induced to withdraw from court during the trial, was recalled. Regarding Wolsey with fear and aversion, as the determined foe of all her projects of love and ambition, she industriously fostered the suspicions which had grown up in the mind of Henry; and it began to be rumoured, that the Cardinal had incurred the penalties of the statute of premuniré. Although aware of what was to ensue, and evidently corroded by anxiety and suspense, a kind of haughty magnanimity would not allow him to abate, in any respect, his accustomed ostentation and pretensions. He opened the Michaelmas term at Westminster-hall with all his usual pomp and ceremony, and performed the duties, as if unconscious that it was for the last time. In the course of the evening, it is supposed that he received private information of his disgrace having been determined, for next day he remained at home; but no messenger came from the king. On the following morning, however, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk arrived, and required the great seal to be delivered to them, informing him, that it was the king's pleasure that he should retire to Ashur, an ecclesiastical seat which belonged to him as Bishop of Winchester. With this requisition he refused to comply, saying, that the seal

had been given to him personally by the king to enjoy it, with the ministration of the chancellorship, for life, and, as he had letters-patent to that effect, it was necessary they should produce their commission before he could lawfully deliver it into their hands. A warm debate arose; but the Cardinal was firm, and the two noblemen went away without having accomplished their purpose. Next day they returned with credentials that could not be disputed; and, his power being ended, he prepared for the resignation of his wealth. Inventories were made of his furniture; and incredible quantities of massy plate, velvets, damasks, and the richest tissues, laid out on the tables of his different chambers and galleries, were held by his treasurer at the disposal of the king.

XXII. With his train of gentlemen and yeomen he proceeded to his barge, which lay at the Privy-garden stairs, where a vast multitude was assembled silently waiting, in the expectation of seeing him conveyed to the Tower. One of his domestics, with much concern, mentioned what the crowd expected. The Cardinal, gently reprimanding the servant for his credulity and officiousness, said, that he took a bad way to comfort his master in adversity. "I would have you," added he, sternly, "and all the authors of such false reports, to know that I never deserved to be sent to the Tower." The barge was rowed to Putney, where he landed, and mounted his mule. The servants

followed; but they had not advanced far when a horseman was discovered riding down the hill towards them. It was a messenger from the king, sent to assure him of unaltered esteem and kindness; and to say, that the severity which he suffered was caused more by political considerations than by motives of anger or resentment. "His majesty in this," said the messenger, "only follows the advice of others; and therefore your grace should not give way to despondency, but cherish comfortable hopes." In the surprise and gratitude of the moment, Wolsey alighted from his mule, and, kneeling down on the spot, lifted up his hands to heaven, and returned thanks for this unexpected consolation. He rewarded the bearer of the message with a chain of gold and a precious relic from about his neck; and as a proof to the king of the pleasure which this assurance had afforded, he sent him a jester from among his train, with those buffo neries Henry had often been diverted. It might be inferred from this incident, that the Cardinal's disgrace was only a stratagem to intimidate the pope; but his enemies turned it to their own advantage, and he was left deserted at Ashur.

XXIII. Ruin is doubtless the same to men of all conditions; but persons in elevated stations, as they fall from a greater height than men of ordinary rank, perhaps suffer under a more overwhelming sense of calamity. Disgrace also is

more acutely felt as it is more generally known, and the interest of a whole people adds an ideal weight to the misfortunes of fallen greatness. Wolsey now stood forth to view confessedly a ruined main. Sudden adversity had blasted all his blushing honours; and, as a sure prognostic of approaching decay, the ephemeral swarms which had lived in his shade disappeared, and left him in solitude. Of all afflictions which assail the human heart, ingratitude has ever given the severest blow; and men who have lost the possession of extensive power are peculiarly exposed to the evil. The official dependants of the Cardinal manifested the common baseness of political adherents; and none but his immediate domestics, who partook in the overthrow of his fortunes, remained to console their fallen master. Bodily suffering would have been relief to his proud mind; but to be left alone to brood over his disgrace; to feel the coldness of deliberate neglect; to be conscious of the insolent triumph of his enemies; and, with so liberal a spirit, to be deprived of the means of rewarding the faithful attachment of his servants, was a punishment, as he observed himself, far worse than death. The agitations of suspense gradually subsided into despondency, and he was seized with that sickness of spirit which is more fatal to the powers of life than the sharpest sorrow. Had he been sent to the scaffold, he would in all probability have met death with firmness; but the course

which the king pursued, though dictated no doubt by some remains of tenderness, was that of all others against which he was least able to bear himself with fortitude.

BOOK VII.

Henry VIII. had now reigned upwards of twenty years with great prosperity and renown. Had he died before the close of the Cardinal's administration, he would have been commemorated as one of the best, as he was unquestionably one of the ablest and greatest monarchs that ever wore the crown of Fngland. Much of his celebrity would obviously have been due to Wolsey; but if princes are individually blamed for the errors and failures of their ministers, humanity claims for them the honour of their wisdom and success. As they are responsible for the measures of the men whom they employ, it is but just that they should be allowed the merit of discernment when they promote those who maintain the dignity and advance the power of their states. In this respect, Henry is entitled to great praise; for, except by the mission to Maximilian, in the preceding reign, Wolsey was unknown as a public character, and had not, by any series of actions or particular exploit,

excited a disposition to believe him qualified for the high offices which he so suddenly obtained. Whatever the motives were which induced the king to confer upon him the chief exercise of the royal prerogatives, the sagacity by which he perceived his fitness would have been admired in the profoundest politician. By presenting the Cardinal as the main spring of the government, he screened himself from the clamour against unpopular undertakings; and, in interposing occasionally to please the people, he acquired more distinguished applause; while, at the same time, the great talents of Wolsey justified the confidence which he continued to bestow. But from the dismissal of the Cardinal, his history exhibits a new character. Unrestrained by deference to the opinion of any other, and no longer fully confiding in the abilities of counsellors, whom he was habituated to regard as inferior men, his arbitrary spirit assumed the mastery of the government; and his natural frankness, unqualified for the practice of that reserve and procrastination which is perhaps essential to the management of public affairs, betrayed him into violent courses, which the ready agency of the priesthood and the complacency of the parliament shamefully facilitated. But such is the system of Providence. The base propensities of individuals yield beneficial results to the species, and particular evils always engender general good. To the caprice of Henry VIII., and the syco-

phancy of his counsellors, England owes the reformation of religion, and the diminution of ecclesiastical tyranny.

II. The Cardinal, for more than seven years, had contrived to manage the government without parliamentary advice. The revenue and ordinary resources were adequate to the expenditure; and therefore it was unnecessary to trouble the peers and representatives; for pecuniary necessities constitute the chief motives which induce ministers to convene the collective wisdom of the nation. After the dismissal of Wolsey parliament was assembled, both on account of the state of the exchequer, and the vengeance which the king had vowed against the pope for revoking the process to Rome. Except in the appointment of Sir Thomas More to the chancery, no change had taken place in the administration; yet the counsellors had the effrontery to throw upon the Cardinal all the blame of the unpopular proceedings, in which they had themselves been previously concerned. It is the frequent recurrence of such examples of public dereliction that sickens to disgust, and sours into misanthropy, the feelings of historians in relating the cabals and conspiracies of courts. But the ministers of Henry VIII. were not influenced by those considerations which induced Wolsey to overlook present obstacles in contemplating the consequences of his undertakings. They felt not the desire of that renown which can only be attained

by accomplishing works of utility. They wanted that prophetic anticipation of the effects of existing circumstances, which alone enables statesmen to dignify and even to hallow those acts of temporary injustice which seem so often mysteriously imposed upon their transactions. They were fastened close down to sordid and selfish aims; and their views and faculties were limited to momentary expedients, which disturbed, without altering, the great current of human affairs. They procured from parliament acts which abridged the prerogatives of the clergy, in order to manifest to the court of Rome the resolution of the king to maintain his royal supremacy. The utility of these measures obviates the objection to the morality of the motive; but other laws were obtained that have no such apology. The king had contracted debts, and they absolved him from the payment; and, as if the letting loose of delinquents on society could have been any compensation to his creditors, or any indemnity to mankind, for the public violation of common honesty, a general pardon for all offences, except the crimes of murder and treason, was granted. Articles of impeachment were also drawn up against the Cardinal, characteristic of the folly and wickedness of the new administration. He was charged with superiority of talents, and surpassing assiduity in business; and with being eloquent in discourse, sarcastic to the presumptuous, liberal, lofty-minded,

subject to the common frailties of man, and disagreeable when afflicted with disease. The main strength of his enemies lay in the House of Lords, among the nobility, the prelates, and the abbots; and the bill of impeachment in consequence passed that branch of the legislature. But in the House of Commons, Thomas Cromwell, who had been secretary to the Cardinal, so manfully exposed the absurdity of the charges, and so powerfully vindicated the integrity of his old master, that the Commons threw out the bill as unworthy of investigation. This circumstance, considering the times, and the general subserviency of the House of Commons to the crown, was the most emphatic eulogium that could be pronounced on the long and various administration of Wolsey.

III. The impeachment having failed, the Cardinal was immediately indicted on the sixteenth statute of Richard III., for having exercised his legatine commission without the king's authority. One of the judges was sent to Ashur to receive his answer to this shameless accusation. The reply of Wolsey was proud and melancholy. "I am," said he, "now sixty years old, and the best of my days have been spent in his majesty's service, in which my whole endeavour was to please him: and is this that heinous offence for which I am deprived in old age of my all, and driven as it were to beg my bread? I expected some higher charge; not that I am guilty, but because his majesty knows

how ill it becomes the magnanimity of a king to condemn, without a hearing, a servant who was greatest in his favour; and to inflict for a slight fault a punishment more cruel than death. What man is he that would not die rather than witness those, whose faithful service he has long experienced, starving around him? But, since so little can be alleged against me, I hope that this machination of combined envy, will be as easily broken as my impeachment was thrown out of the parliament. It is well known to the king, that I would not have presumed to exercise my legatine commission without his royal assent. All my property, as you know, is under sequestration; I cannot, therefore, at present produce his letters, neither indeed if I could would I; for why should I contend with the king? Go, therefore, and tell him, that I acknowledge all that I have, (but of what do I speak? for I have nothing left,) or whatsoever I had, to be the gifts of his royal bounty; and it is but just that he should revoke his favours if he think me unworthy of them. I remit my cause to him, to be at his pleasure either condemned or pardoned. If you will have me acknowledge myself guilty, be it so; but the king knows my innocence, and neither my own confession, nor the detractions of my enemies, can deceive him." The judge then requested him to resign York place, the archiepiscopal residence in Westminster. The Cardinal, not considering it as his property, was surprised at the

request, and said to the judge, "Sir, I know that the king possesses a royal spirit, not requiring more by law than what is reasonable; therefore I advise you, and all his council, to put no more into his head than may stand with his conscience. The council of a king ought to respect equity more than law; for it is more honourable to do what is just than what is lawful. The king, for his own dignity, should mitigate the rigour of the laws; and it is for this purpose that he has appointed a chancellor, with power to appease and restrain the severity with which, in some cases, they might operate. And now, sir, can I give away that which belongs as much to those who shall succeed me as to myself? I pray you, show me whether it be consistent with law or equity?" The judge was perplexed by these observations, and knew not well what answer to give. "In truth," said he, "there is little equity in the matter; but the king's great power is sufficient to recompense the see of York with double the value of the place." "That I know," replied the Cardinal, "but there is no such condition in the proposal. You require of me a full and entire surrender of the rights of others with which I have been intrusted. If every bishop were to comply with such a request, what would become of the patrimony of the church? But I must submit to the king's power. I charge you, however, to exonerate me from the guilt of this act; and to tell his majesty to remember that

there is both a heaven and a hell." With this answer the judge returned to London.

IV. The declaration was received as the confession of his offence, and the sentence of the law was pronounced. All his possessions and moveables were forfeited to the crown; but he was not, as the law commands, committed to prison. The fate of his colleges gave him most pain. He had indulged a fond expectation that they would have been his monuments with posterity, as a patron of knowledge and a benefactor to his country; but they too were confiscated. He wrote to the king humbly, as on his knees, and with weeping eyes, to spare the college at Oxford. No answer was returned.

V. Cromwell, who, in the House of Commons, had so ably defended him, acted with such open and manly intrepidity in the cause of his deserted master, that he won the esteem of all parties. Being on a visit of consolation to him at Ashur, he one day took occasion to mention that no provision had been made for several of the servants who had proved themselves very faithful, and had never forsaken him. "Alas!" replied the Cardinal, "you know that I have nothing to give them, nor to reward you." Cromwell then proposed that the Cardinal's chaplains, who had been preferred to rich benefices by his influence, should, with himself, contribute a little money for the support of the domestics; and it was agreed that, as the return of the king's favour was uncertain, it was ne-

cessary to reduce their number. The servants were therefore summoned into the hall, at the upper end of which stood Wolsey in his pontifical robes, attended by the chaplains and officers of his household, with whom he continued in conversation till the whole were assembled. Turning to address them, he paused for a moment. The sight of so many faithful, though humble friends, powerfully touched his feelings, and for some time he was unable to speak. The tears started into his eyes, and the servants, perceiving his emotion, gave way to their own sorrows. When he had recovered from his agitation, and silence was restored, he spoke to them in the following manner:—

"Most faithful gentlemen and true-hearted yeomen, I lament that in my prosperity I did not so much for you as I might have done, nor what was then in my power. I considered, indeed, that if I promoted you to the exclusion of the king's servants, I should have been exposed to their malice and to the slander of the world. But now my power is gone. It has pleased the king to take away all that I had, and I have nothing left but my robe. My punishment, however, far exceeds my offence; and I trust to be soon restored to his majesty's favour, when I shall remember the treasure I possessed in you, the value of which I knew not before. Whatever may then be the surplus of my income, it shall be divided among you; for I will never consider the riches of this world as given

for any other end than for the maintenance of that condition to which Providence calls me. Should the king not soon replace me in his confidence, I will recommend you to himself or to some nobleman; and I trust that the king or any nobleman will yet respect my recommendation." He concluded by advising them to repair to their families; and Cromwell and the chaplains having raised a sum of money for their relief, it was immediately distributed, and many of them departed to their respective homes.

VI. The apprehension of retaliation often engenders in the minds of aggressors sentiments which resemble the workings of revenge; and base spirits, when they have happened to injure, often deliberately continue to persecute. The enemies of the Cardinal combined to prevent the king from ever seeing him again, and continued to mortify his proud heart, in the hope that innocence, provoked by injustice, would betray him into some imprudent expression of indignation. Henry himself has indeed been suspected of sanctioning their cruelty from a vicious principle of policy, in the expectation that, as Wolsey disregarded popular clamour, he might, for the restoration of his grandeur, not scruple to sustain even the obloquy of the Roman consistory, by pronouncing the sentence of divorce. But he ought to have known his lofty character better; and that the love of fame, which renders public men incorruptible,

though nearly allied to the love of power and splendour, never admits rank into comparison with reputation. The treatment which the Cardinal received wounded without irritating. The eagerness with which his former associates endeavoured to rise on his ruins,—the neglect of those who had shared his bounty,—the abortive assurances that he had received from the king,—and the conviction that, without being restored to favour, he never could be able to contradict the wilful misrepresentation which was daily made of his purest intentions, but must transmit a blemished and defaced character to posterity,—corroded his feelings to such a degree, that his life was despaired of. Henry, being informed of his indisposition, inquired of one of the court physicians, who had professionally visited Ashur, what was the matter with the Cardinal, and learning that it arose from dejection, struck the table violently with his hand, exclaiming, "I would rather lose twenty thousand pounds, than that he should die; make you haste, therefore, with as many as are of your profession about the court, and endeavour to recover him." He then took from his finger a ring, charged with a ruby, on which his own head was engraved, and sent a gentleman with it and many kindly assurances to the Cardinal; and he ordered Ann Bullen, who happened to be present, to send also some token of her regard; and she submissively obeyed, giving the doctor a golden tablet from her side, which

she requested him to deliver from her. Soon after, Wolsey was regularly pardoned, and replaced in the see of York, with a pension of a thousand marks per annum from the bishopric of Winchester; and Henry, unknown to the privy council, restored to him plate and effects to the value of more than six thousand pounds. These unexpected testimonies of affection essentially contributed to his recovery; and having been allowed permission, when he resigned the palace at Hampton, to reside in Richmond Castle, he ventured to solicit leave to remove from Ashur to the more cheerful air and scenery of that mansion; which was readily granted. But his enemies, fearing that, if he was permitted to reside long so near the court, the king might be induced to visit or recall him, recommended that, as he was not now detained by the duties of the chancery, he should be sent to the government of his diocese; and he was accordingly banished to York.

VII. Some time previous to his departure, the domestics observed an interesting change in his demeanour. Like many other great men in adversity, his mind took a superstitious turn, and seemed to discover, in accidents certainly trivial, an ominous and fatal meaning. He grew pensive, wore a shirt of haircloth, and held frequent conferences with a venerable old man belonging to the brotherhood of the Charter-house at Richmond.

VIII. He commenced his journey towards York

about the end of Lent. His train consisted of a hundred and sixty horse, and seventy-two waggons, loaded with the relics of his furniture. How great must have been that grandeur which, by comparison, made such wealth appear poverty! Having stopped at Peterborough to celebrate the festival of Easter, on Palm-sunday he walked in the procession of the monks to the cathedral; and on the following Thursday kept Maunday, according to the practice of the church, washing the feet of the poor, and bestowing alms and blessings. From Peterborough he proceeded slowly, exercising his pastoral functions by the way, and halted at Stoby, where he resided till Michaelmas, preaching in the churches of the adjacent parishes, interposing to reconcile the variance of neighbours, relieving the necessitous, and performing many other exemplary acts of piety and benevolence. He then went forward to Caywood Castle, one of the residences of the Archbishop of York, distant from the city about twelve miles. A great conflux of people, drawn together by curiosity, waited to see him arrive, among whom were the clergy of the diocese, who welcomed him with the reverence due to his pontifical dignity. The castle, having been long untenanted, required extensive repairs, which the Cardinal immediately commenced; for nature and habit made him decisive and prompt in all circumstances. The short period of his residence in this ancient mansion was, perhaps, the happiest of his

life. He appeared delighted with the composure of rural affairs; and, by the equity of his demeanour, and a mild condescension, which belied the reports of his haughtiness, he won the hearts of his diocesans. He professed himself a convert from ambition; and, having suffered the perils and terrors of shipwreck, he was thankful that, at length, he had cast anchor in a calm and pleasant haven, with the expectation of safety and rest.

IX. As he had never been installed in the archiepiscopal see, he gave orders to prepare the cathedral for the ceremony, and a day was appointed for the celebration. On this occasion the arrangements were unusually simple, and indicated the altered frame of his mind. As the day approached, incredible quantities of provisions were sent to him by the neighbouring gentry and clergy, in order that he might maintain the customary hospitalities in a style suitable to his character; and, in the meantime, he was flattered by several friendly messages from the king. The pleasure which the latter afforded was so obvious and lively, that it was difficult to determine whether it arose from a rekindled hope of restoration, or was only the exulting joy of finding his integrity vindicated. But the triumph or the illusion was of short duration, and only served to inflame the sense of disappointment, and to enhance the shock of a second fall.

X. The Monday after All-souls day was fixed for the installation; but, on the preceding Friday,

as he was sitting at dinner, the Earl of Northumberland, who, while Lord Percy, had been educated in his house, and whose intended marriage with Ann Bullen the Cardinal had been the means of frustrating, accompanied by a privy counsellor and a large retinue, arrived at the castle. He was received with a paternal and a cheerful welcome, and conducted by Wolsey into his own apartments; where they had not, however, exchanged many words, when the earl became agitated, and, in a low and troubled voice, declared him arrested for high treason. Astonished by a charge so unexpected, Wolsey, for some time, was unable to speak; but, recovering his spirits, he requested Northumberland to show the warrant, protesting that otherwise he would not surrender himself; for, as a member of the college of cardinals, he was exempted from the jurisdiction of all secular princes. At this moment the privy counsellor entered the room. Wolsey, on seeing him, observed that, as a counsellor of the king, he was sufficiently commissioned to take him into custody, and immediately intimated that he was their prisoner. "I fear not," added he, "the cruelty of my enemies, nor a scrutiny of my allegiance; and I will take Heaven to witness, that neither in word nor deed have I injured the king, and I will maintain my innocence face to face with any man alive."

XI. When it was known in the neighbourhood that he was to be conveyed to London, a great

crowd assembled round the castle; and as he came out on his mule, guarded, the people began to exclaim, "God save your grace, and foul evil overtake them that have taken you from us." With these and other testimonies of popular affection, he was followed to a considerable distance. Northumberland conducted him to Sheffield-park, and delivered him to the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom he resided about a fortnight, until the king's further pleasure was known. Shrewsbury entertained him with the respect that became his own honour, and assured him, that though the king could not satisfy the council without sending him to trial, still he believed him guiltless, and that his enemies dreaded his restoration to favour more than he ought to do their malice. But the Cardinal could no longer be cheered. He considered his destruction as irrevocably fixed, and resigned himself to the comfortless thoughts which that gloomy notion inspired. His constitution, impaired by age and the vicissitudes of hope and fear, suddenly gave way. One day, at dinner, he complained of a coldness in his stomach, and was soon after seized with a violent flux, which greatly drained his strength. In this situation he was found by Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who, with twenty yeomen of the guards that had formerly been in his own service, came to convey him to London. In the whole of his treatment, from the moment of his arrest, a great degree of

respect and consideration was shown to him, and it appears to have been at the special command of Henry. Sir William, on being taken to his presence, knelt down, and assured him, in the king's name, of his majesty's unbroken friendship; adding, that it was not necessary for him to make more haste in the journey than suited his health and convenience. The Cardinal, however, thought that delay might be regarded as evidence of conscious guilt, and, declining the indulgence, anxiously proceeded forward. Although he travelled slowly, his illness was increased by fatigue, and he grew weak and feverish. On the evening of the third day after leaving Sheffield-park, he approached Leicester. The appearance of nature accorded with the condition of the prisoner. The end of the year was drawing nigh, and the Cardinal beheld for the last time the falling leaf and the setting sun.

XII. When the cavalcade reached the monastery, the day was shut in; and the abbot and the friars, apprized of his coming, waited with torches at the gate to receive him. But the honours of this world had ceased to afford him pleasure, and as he passed towards the bottom of the stairs, he said to the brotherhood, "I am come to lay my bones among you." Being supported into a chamber, he immediately went to bed, and languished, with increasing signs of dissolution, all the next day. The following morning, Cavendish, his

usher, and afterwards historian, as he was watching near him, thought that he perceived the symptoms of death. The Cardinal, noticing him, inquired the hour, and was told eight o'clock; "that cannot be," he replied, "for at eight o'clock you shall lose your master. My time is at hand, and I must depart this world." His confessor, who was standing near, requested Cavendish to inquire if he would be confessed. "What have you to do with that?" answered he angrily; but was pacified by the interference of the confessor. Continuing to grow weaker and weaker, he frequently fainted during the course of the day. About four o'clock of the following morning he asked some refreshment; which having received, and made confession, Sir William Kingston entered his room, and inquired how he felt himself. "Sir," said Wolsey, "I tarry but the pleasure of God, to render up my poor soul into his hands;" and, after a few other words between them, he resumed, "I have now been eight days together troubled with a continual flux and fever, a species of disease which, if it do not remit its violence within that period, never fails to terminate in death. I pray you commend me humbly to the king; and beseech him, in my behalf, to call to his princely remembrance all matters that have passed between him and me, particularly in what respects the business of the queen, and then he must know whether I have given him any offence. He is a prince

of a most royal nature; but rather than want any part of his pleasure, he will endanger the half of his kingdom. Often have I knelt before him for three hours together, endeavouring to persuade him from his will and appetite, and could not prevail. Had I served God as diligently as I have done the king he would not have given me over in my grey hairs." He then continued for a short time to give Sir William some advice, in case he should ever be called to the privy council, and, adding a few general observations on the revolutionary temper of the times, concluded by saying, "Farewell, I wish all good things to have success. My time draws fast on. I may not tarry with you. Forget not what I have said; and when I am gone, call it often to mind." Towards the conclusion he began to falter, and linger in the articulation of his words. At the end, his eyes became motionless and his sight failed. The abbot was summoned to administer the extreme unction, and the yeomen of the guard were called in to see him die. As the clock struck eight he expired.

XIII. The body, with the face uncovered, being laid out in pontifical robes, the magistrates and inhabitants of Leicester were admitted to see it, in order that they might certify the death. In the evening it was removed into the church; but the funeral service was protracted by unusual dirges and orisons, and it was past midnight before the interment took place. Such was the end of this

proud and famous cardinal. The king, when informed of his death, was touched with sincere sorrow; and, as if it could in any way atone for his own conduct, he seemed anxious to reward all those who had shown any kindness to his old favourite. On Cromwell he bestowed no inconsiderable portion of the power which his master had enjoyed; and Cavendish, whose prudence and fidelity had remained unshaken by the ruin which he had witnessed and shared, was promoted to wealth and situations which enabled him to become the founder of the princely dukedom of Devonshire. Henry, indeed, never ceased to regret the Cardinal; and often, in the perplexities which afterwards troubled his reign, lamented the loss of Wolsey, always pronouncing his name with an epithet of respect.

XIV. If it be true, that no man by less effort ever attained so much dignity as Cardinal Wolsey, few have been thrown down from so great a height under the imputation of smaller crimes. He was undoubtedly a character of the most splendid class. Haughty, ambitious, masterly, and magnificent, he felt himself formed for superiority; and his conduct, if not always judicious, was uniformly great. His exterior was dignified, his demeanour courtly, his discernment rapid, his eloquence commanding, and his comprehension vast and prospective. The number, variety, and magnitude of his public trusts, in all of which he was eminently distinguished, are proofs of the elastic powers of

his mind, and the versatility of his talents for business. His avidity to amass wealth was contrasted with an expenditure so generous, that it lost the name of avarice, and deserved to be dignified with that of ambition. His ostentation was so richly blended with munificence and hospitality, that it ought to be ascribed rather to the love of distinction than to vanity; and his pride was so nearly allied to the sense of honour and justice, that it seemed to be essential to his accomplishments as a statesman. All his undertakings showed the combining and foreseeing faculties of his genius. His plan for the reformation of the clergy was singularly liberal; and to circumstances which arose during his administration, many of the most important changes in the moral state of modern Europe may be clearly traced. The league of London may be called the great charter of Christendom, for it established the independence of the different nations, and restricted the domination of the pope to affairs purely ecclesiastical. It is by these two great systematic measures, the one domestic, and the other foreign, that the merits of his administration should be estimated, for the whole tenor of his internal policy seems to have borne particularly against the wealth and prerogatives of the priesthood, while the object of his negotiations with foreign states was no less calculated to define alike the duties of sovereigns and subjects. He seems to have regarded the European

nations as so many distinct members of the same body, and that the authority of the pope was not exactly the kind which should predominate. It must be considered as no slight proof of his enlarged and enlightened views, that in the recent re-edification of the Christian community of nations, the principles have been revived upon which he framed the league of London; for the treaty of Paris of 1815 closely resembles, in its elemental basis, the ground and spirit of that ancient and noble compact. It is this anticipation of the future, or, more properly speaking, this perception of things applicable to the universal nature of interests, at once social and separate, that makes all the difference between a minister and a statesman. The two great measures of Cardinal Wolsey, on account both of their immediate effect, and of the consequences which continue to flow from them, can never be classed with the temporary expedients which constitute the ordinary business of politicians, but are entitled to be ranked with those codes of law which everlastingly affect the habits and characters of mankind. To allege that he was aware of their interminable importance, would be as improper as to withhold from him the admiration due to great natural ability, or to deny that he employed the gifts of fortune with glory to himself and advantage to his country. The invidious, who delight to contemplate the little blemishes of the most illustrious characters, will see in the

errors of Cardinal Wolsey much to condemn; but minds of more generous feeling will consider his vices as obsolete topics; for, in the opinion of such, the merits and the virtues of the great are all that should attract the attention of posterity. And they will not refuse to allow that, whether estimated by his talents, accomplishments, fortune, or designs, this famous Cardinal was one of those extraordinary personages who only arise in times of change and commotion, surprising the world by the splendour of their actions; and who, having agitated and altered the frame of society by their influence, are commemorated as the epochal characters of history.

NOTES.

NOTES TO BOOK FIRST.

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1. *To profess the sentiments which it had anciently inspired was not indeed ridiculous.* Sect. v. page 4.

Cervantes was not born till the year 1547, nor Don Quixote published in Spain till 1605.

2. —— *Nothing less was expected from it than a knowledge of future events, and the power of conferring inexhaustible wealth and immortality.* Sect. vi. page 5.

Astrology has long, by the absurd pretensions of its professors, been so effectually consigned to oblivious contempt, that the books which treat of its principles are rarely to be found even in libraries of curious literature, and are never inquired for without provoking a sort of compassionate ridicule not easily withstood. And yet the study itself, as professing to discover, by celestial phenomena, future mutations in terrestrial bodies,* ought not to be despised. The theory of the tides is altogether an astrological doctrine, and long before the days of Sir Isaac Newton was as well understood as it is at this moment. The correspondence which the ancient physicians alleged to exist between the positions of the moon and the stages of various diseases, has certainly received a degree of confirmation, auspicious to a modified revival of the doctrine of celestial influences.† It is not a just philosophy which rejects as vain what appears to be

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* Sir Christopher Heydon's Defence of Astrology, p. 2. ed. 1603.

† Dr Mead's Treatise concerning the Influence of the Sun and Moon upon Human Bodies, &c.

improbable. Though many things of which the astrologers speak be apparently fanciful, they are not the less worthy of being exaimned. They have asserted, that the fits of a particular kind of madness are governed by the moon; that her rays quicken the putrefaction of animals;* that persons are rendered dull and drowsy who sleep abroad in the moon-light; that vegetables sown in the spring of the moon differ in flavour from the same kind sown in her wane; that vines pruned during her conjunction with the sun shoot forth a less rank foliage afterwards; and that timber felled at the same time endures longest uncorrupted.† They have also alleged, that oysters, crabs, and all testacious fish, grow fat and full with the waxing of the moon, and dwindle with her waning; that she has an influence on the procreation of mares and horses; and that children born at the time of new moon are always short-lived. Any man possessing patience and inclination might so easily ascertain the fact of these things, that it is surprising they should be still pronounced incredible, and denied rather than contradicted:

"Yet safe the world and free from change doth last;
No years increase it, and no years can waste.
Its course it urges on, and keeps its frame,
And still will be, because 'twas still the same.
It stands secure from Time's devouring rage,
For 'tis a God, nor can it change with age."

And therefore, say the astrologers, a correspondence and coincidence must exist throughout the universal phenomena; as in the machinery of a clock, in which the state of one part indicates what has passed, or is to happen in another.

The principles of astrology, like those of every other

* Heydon, p. 425. † Ibid. p. 186.

science, must have been founded on some species of experience. The first occurrences that probably attracted observation, would be those that naturally had some apparent concordance with the great luminaries and planets, such as the seasons of the year, &c. The tides, varying with the phases of the moon, would early obtain attention: their regular increase, corresponding to her opposition and conjunction, would lead to the consideration of the solar influence. Thence, perhaps, it was observed, that when certain planets were in particular constellations, and the sun in certain signs of the zodiac, the tides were otherwise affected. Hence the qualities of the planetary influence came to be studied.

A transition from the tides to the variations of the atmosphere, if they did not at first attract notice, was very natural; and as valetudinarians are particularly affected by the weather, the progress towards that branch of astrology which relates to diseases would be the consequence.

If the diseases of man be regulated by the stars, why not his passions also? And as his passions govern his actions, making one class of motives more acceptable than another, why not by the means of his passions regulate his fortune? Fortune is but another name for situation, and men are evidently allured into their various circumstances or situations by their passions. The next inquiry would naturally therefore be, to ascertain from what particular aspects of the skies the varieties of fate and character proceed. Hence the theory of nativities, and that branch of the study which has brought the whole into such disrepute. Ptolemy had vainly warned his followers not to foretell particularly, but generally, as one that seeth a thing afar off; but not content with telling particularly, they alleged, in the very face of their fundamental position, that man possessed a power of altering his destiny, by affirming that his will was free, and that he had the power of choice and election, forgetting that the foreknowledge of an apprehended future evil generated a

motive which might lead to the adoption of the conduct by which it was avoided.

The notion of the *unalterability* of the world, as the atheistical astrologers entertained it, is at once curious and absurd, and warranted inferences which they would not perhaps have readily admitted. Proceeding upon the supposition that there does exist such a concordance in the universe as they maintained, it is obvious, from the motions of the earth, and of the system to which she belongs, that no two astrological observations could be found in the course of many ages precisely similar; a general resemblance of effect is the utmost that could be obtained, until, in the progress of the various movements of the whole universe, the earth, in all respects, came again to the situation which she held, in relation to every other part, when the first observation was made. When she has done this, it must be allowed from the premises, that a new series of effects will commence in every thing resembling the past. History having finished her tale, will begin to repeat it; and persons and events under the same names, and in the same forms as those of whom we have heard, will appear; yea even fortune-tellers, as foolish as those who have rendered astrology ridiculous, will again come; and an essay, in no single phrase, point, or circumstance different from this, will, after the lapse of innumerable ages, be perused by such another being as thee, O courteous reader!

The professors of alchymy have written the records of their processes in a language of types and symbols as inscrutable as that of the priests of Anubis. Whether they did or did not possess the art of making gold may be fairly questioned, until the knowledge of their secrets is complete, and their experiments have been renewed; but that no natural impediment exists to the attainment of the art, Mr Davy has gone far to show. From the reported testimony of one of themselves, it would appear that the hope of mak-

ing an immortalizing elixir was not seriously entertained by the alchymists. The utmost which they professed to make was a cordial which should refresh and preserve the animal spirits, when the frame was not vitally impaired. Possibly extricated from the cabalistic technical jargon which they used, their studies may have been both rational and ingenious; at least an opinion of them ought not to be formed from the ridicule which ignorant pretenders so justly provoked. John Frederick Helvetius, doctor and practitioner of medicine at the Hague in the year 1666, gives a curious account of a conversation which he had with an alchymist on the subject of the stone and the elixir, and which he introduces with a description of the alchymist's person, that, even in the bad translation before me, has the merit of being remarkably vivid and natural.

The doctor inquired whether, by the use of that elixir which Elias affirmed was known to the alchymists, the pristine nature of man may be converted into a new one, the sad into cheerful? "Not at all, sir," said the artist, "for so great power was never conferred on any medicament that it could change the nature of man. Wine inebriating, taken by diverse individual men, in him who is drunk changeth not his nature, but only provokes, and deduceth into act what is naturally and potentially in him, but before was, as it were, dead. Even so is the operation of the universal medicine, which, by recreation of the vital spirits, excites sanity, for a time only suppressed, because it was naturally in him before; even as the heat of the sun changeth not herbs or flowers, but only provokes the same, and from the proper potential nature of them, deduceth them into act only: for a man of a melancholy temper is again raised to exercise his own melancholy matters; and the jovial man, who was pleasant, is recreated in all his cheerful actions; and so, consequently, in all desperate diseases, it is a present or most excellent preservative." Soon after, he adds, "But if any

prolongation of life by some philosophic medicament could have been adduced against the predestination of the omnipotent God, undoubtedly neither Hermes, Trismegistus, or Paracelsus, or Raymund Lully,* or Count Bernhard, and many more like illustrious possessors of this great mystery, would not have yielded to the common death of all mortals, but, perhaps, have protracted their life until this very day. Therefore it would be the part of a fanatic and foolish man to affirm this, yea of a most foolish man to believe and assent to the same, touching any one medicament in the things of nature."

Presently the conversation changed to the transmutation of metals; and Helvetius affirms that Elias gave him a specimen of the philosophers' stone, with which he performed a successful experiment. Helvetius himself does not appear to have been an alchymist; he was unacquainted with the subjects of which Elias spoke, and had written a book against Sir Kenelm Digby, who professed to make a sympathetic powder which could cure wounds at a distance. In refuting the pretensions of Sir Kenelm, he had made use of some expressions relative to the pursuits of alchymy, which induced Elias to call on him.—*Golden Calf*, pp. 99, 100, ed. 1670. A good name for such a book!

The Rosicrucians were a particular order of alchymists, and professed to be able to transmute the metals. The names of secret substances employed in the process were communicated to the members at their admission into the society, or rather the meaning of the symbolical language by which the materials were described was explained to them, and it was the use of that language which gave rise to the opinion, that the Rosicrucians held particular notions relative to spirits. They were, in fact, a society of experi-

* Raymund Lully is said to have taught Edward III. the art of making gold.—*Sinclair, Hist. Revenue*, p. 75, ed. 1785.

mental philosophers, and used, according to the fashion of the age in which the society was founded, a cabalistic mode of expression, in order to enhance the merits of their knowledge. This society is still supposed to have some sort of an existence; but whether its members believe they possess the key to the symbolical language, and are able to convert common into precious metals, is not easy to be ascertained. I have met with a gentleman who said he was a Rosicrucian. There is a dictionary, in French, which says, that Ovid's Metamorphoses describe alchymical processes. I have not been able to meet with it.

3. *This great achievement roused throughout Christendom a similar spirit.* Sect. vii. page 6.

Henry VIII. was the first English king who established a navy. Ships, before his time, were hired from the merchants. The Trinity-house was instituted in 1512.

4. *Thomas Wolsey was born at Ipswich, in the month of March,* 1471. Sect. ix. page 7.

Parish registers were not instituted in England till 1535.

5. *His father, though of mean condition, possessed some property* Sect. ix. page 7.

It does not appear to be well authenticated that he was a butcher. See his will in Fiddes' Coll. No 1.

6. *Few so young, with all the advantages of rank and affluence, attained, in that age, academical honours.* Sect. ix. page 7.

Cardinal Pole, at the same age, was also made a B. A. His high birth, as well as his great talents, might have had some effect in procuring this distinction.

7. *He was also appointed master of the school* Sect. ix. page 7.

Storer, who published his biographical poem of *Wolsey* in 1599, describes his feelings, in this situation, in a lively and tasteful manner :—

"This silver tongue, methought, was never made
With rhetoric's skill to teach each common swain.
These deep conceits were never taught to wade
In shallow brooks; nor this aspiring vein
Fit to converse among the shepherd train:
I could not girt me, like a worthless groom,
In coarser garment, wove of country loom.

"Just cause I saw my titles to advance,
Virtue my gentry, priesthood my descent,
Saints my allies, the cross my cognizance,
Angels the guard that watched about my tent,
Wisdom that ushered me where'er I went.
These are our honours, though the world withstand;
Our lands and wealth are in another land.

"Yet, as through Tagus' fair, transparent streams,
The wondering merchant sees the sandy gold;
Or, like to Cynthia's half-obscured beams
In silent night, the pilot doth behold
Through misty clouds and vapours manifold;
So, through a mirror of my hope for gain,
I saw the treasure which I should obtain."

8. *For which one of the justices of the peace subjected him to disgraceful punishment.* Sect. xi. page 8.

Fiddes mentions that he was put in the stocks; but Cavendish says, only that Sir Amias Paulet laid him by the heels. Fiddes may have been misled by a marginal note of Stowe.

I find that I have made another memorandum, after reading the MS. copy of Cavendish, in the Harleian library. "*Mem.*—Wolsey mentioned himself, when at Lymington, in order to be installed, that he was called the boy bachelor. Sir Amias Paulet took an occasion of displeasure against

him; upon what grounds I know not," says Cavendish, "but he was so bold as to set Wolsey by the feet during his pleasure."

9. *Commanded him to be in readiness for the embassy.* Sect. xii. page 10.

The business on which Wolsey was sent probably referred to the treaty recorded in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 127. It is dated 10th May, 1506.

10. ——*For which he solicited his Majesty's pardon.* Sect. xiii. page 11.

Storer makes the Cardinal describe his mission very prettily:—

> "The Argonautic vessel never past
> With swifter course along the Colchian main,
> Than my small bark, with fair and steady blast,
> Convey'd me forth, and reconvey'd again."

11. ——*He selected for ministers those counsellors of his father who were the most respected for their caution and wisdom.* Sect. xv. page 12.

Lord Herbert remarks, that there was no lawyer in this administration.

12 *No schism had yet, &c.* Sect. xvii. page 14.

Vide, concerning the subjects in question, Guicciardini, Fiddes, and Burnet.

Henry VIII. was the first king of England who had any correspondence with the Swiss.

13. *This singular encounter received the appropriate appellation of the Battle of the Spurs.* Sect. xxii. page 19.

Father Daniel, in his account of this battle, gives an interesting and characteristic anecdote of Bayard. The chevalier, with only fifteen men at arms, fighting as he retreated, gained a bridge, over which only two troopers could pass abreast. On this post, he repulsed a detachment of the imperial cavalry; but a party of English archers getting to his rear, he told his soldiers that it was proper they should sur-

render, to avoid the destructive effects of the arrows. While waiting for this purpose till the enemy could come up, observing, at a short distance, a man at arms of the combined forces, resting fatigued at the foot of a tree, with his helmet on the ground, he instantly rode to him. "Surrender, cavalier," cried Bayard, "or you are a dead man." The astonished gentleman at once resigned his sword. "I am Captain Bayard," added the chevalier, "and I now surrender myself your prisoner. Take my sword; but on condition that it shall be restored, if, in going to your camp, I shall happen to be insulted." Bayard, after staying in the camp several days, grew anxious for new enterprises, and requested the man at arms to procure him liberty to return to the French camp. "Where is your ransom, chevalier?" answered the man at arms. "And where is yours?" replied Bayard, "for you are my prisoner." The controversy that ensued was referred to the kings at arms, but they had no law for such an extraordinary case: appeal was therefore made to Henry and Maximilian, who decided in favour of Bayard, and he was permitted to return into France.

N. B. It may be inferred, from this occurrence, that, in those days, prisoners, on account of their ransoms, were still considered as belonging to the soldiers who took them. I was not aware that the practice had continued so late. I have alluded to this transaction in my Travels.

14. ——*With a provisionary declaration of war, if satisfaction should be refused.* Sect. xxiii. page 20.

Pinkerton, whose researches have illustrated the transactions between the courts of England and Scotland, during the reigns of James IV. and his son, more fully than any of the historians who have written of that period, gives an account to the following effects of the origin of this war. Letters of reprisal had been granted to Andrew, Robert, and John Barton, sons of John Barton, who, in the year 1476, commanded a rich merchant ship, which a Portuguese

squadron captured, and for the loss of which the sufferers could not otherwise obtain indemnity. Although the lapse of thirty years might have abated the sense of injury, the Bartons were active in revenging their domestic misfortunes. Emanuel, king of Portugal, remonstrated against their depredations on his subjects, and offered a judicial examination of their claims; but as he neglected a message, which, four years before, James had sent to conciliate the dispute, and to restore the ancient amity of the two nations, his remonstrance and offer were equally disregarded, and the Bartons repaid the loss sustained by their father, from the spoil of the Portuguese trade, which, in consequence of the discovery of the maritime route to India, by Gama, was then the richest in the world. Andrew Barton, with two vessels, the Lion, a large ship of war, and the Jenny Pirwen, an armed sloop, traversed the narrow seas, to the annoyance of the English vessels, which he molested, upon pretence of searching for Portuguese goods. The English merchants complained of this grievance; and, in consequence, Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Edward Howard, sons of the Earl of Surrey, were sent, with two ships, in pursuit of Barton, whom they met in the Downs. After an obstinate conflict, the Scottish commander fell, and the Howards were victorious. James, exceedingly vexed by the event, and the loss of so gallant an officer, despatched a herald to the English court, to claim reparation; but Henry only answered, that the fate of pirates should never occasion disputes among princes.

A more minute cause of enmity arose from another private feud. Sir Robert Ker, cup-bearer to James, and also warden of the middle march, having been severe in the administration of the latter office, was slain by Heron, Lilburn, and Starked, three turbulent English borderers. Henry VII., in whose reign this outrage was perpetrated, gave up Lilburn. Starked and Heron escaped; but Heron of Ford, brother to the murderer, was given up as a pledge

for the surrender of the latter, and was imprisoned in Fast-calle, with Lilburn, who died there. Soon after the accession of Henry VIII., Starked and Heron re-appeared, as if conscious that they should be protected. Andrew Ker, son of Sir Robert, acquainted with this fact, sent two of his servants to punish the assassins of his father, and they returned with Starked's head, which Ker exposed with impunity in one of the most public places in Edinburgh.

Pinkerton also mentions a domestic provocation which Henry had given to the family of Scotland, by evading the delivery of a legacy of valuable jewels, bequeathed to the queen by her father. The character of Margaret was not unlike her brother's, bold and fiery. In one of her letters to him, she upbraids him for his pitiful conduct concerning the legacy, and desires no more may be said of it, as her husband grew every day more and more kind to her, and would pay the value of the legacy himself. "We are ashamed," she adds, "therewith, and would God never word had been thereof: it is not worth such estimation as is in your diverse letters of the same."

The grand source of the war must still however be looked for in the principles which had, for many ages, induced the government of Scotland to prefer the policies of France to those of England. For, on the 10th July, 1512, James ratified a league, previously arranged, by which he, in fact, united himself to Louis, although more than another year after was consumed in fruitless and insincere negotiation.

15. —— *Battle of Flodden—an event which the Scottish nation have never ceased to deplore in the finest strains of their poetry and music.* Sect. xxiii. page 22.

The following ballad on this subject has never before been published :—

THE WEARY NIGHT OF FLODDEN FIGHT.

The clouds, like flakes of living flame,
Float round the setting sun ;

The warder winds his buglehorn,
To tend the evening gun.

The windows to the western sheen,
As with triumphal light,
Are blazing all, "And comes none yet
With tidings from the fight?"

Queen Margaret, from the castle tower,
With anxious accent cries;
The warder, as he walks the wall,
"None yet," full sad replies.

The town is out, the streets are still,
As the lown o' Sunday's rest;
The gutchard loads the gilly's arm,
The bairn the mother's breast.

But whar's the gallants of the town,
That maidens stray forlorn?
They're all at Flodden with the king,
O when will they return?

They come, they come: Lord Huntly now
Rides foremost from the field;
No foe has crush'd his plume of pride,
Nor hack'd his painted shield.

But why so soon, and all so trim,
Hath Huntly homeward sped?
His clan in sullen silence pass,—
"O recreants, have ye fled?"

And now, all in the nightly gloom,
The castle shines afar,

Bright as Orion's giant form,
Thick gemm'd with many a star.

In heaven's high floor, the stellar chinks,
Whence peers celestial light,
And saints look down on mortal men,
Are open all and bright.

A horse! a horse! a herald comes,—
A herald from the king!
What ho! what ho! how fares the fight?
What tidings does he bring?

Ah! sure such silent cheerless haste
Denotes no gladsome tale;
Fond maids all piteous weeping cry,
And boding matrons wail.

And see the scud of angels' spears
Streams up the northern sky;
They war with fiends to save the souls
Of who unhousel'd die.

The abbot of old Paisley said,
Full wily as he stood,
With th' provost on the castle-hill,
And thanes by eild subdued,

" What shrieks are these, what shrieks of woe,
Why climbs the crowd the hill?"
" O rest, my heart," queen Margaret cries,
" My faltering heart, lie still."

Full well I ween the warden then,
Regardless of her call,

Cries, as a horseman shoots the gate,
"Let the pontlevice fall."

The crowd throngs on, with wringing hands,
To learn the news implore:
"The king is slain, and all is lost,
And Scotland is no more."

Alack, alack! in rapturous grief,
The matrons clap their hands,
And every fond and faithful maid
In dumb dejection stands.

Along the walls, from keep and tower,
Wild hurried torches flare;
The distant hills have heard the news,
And all their beacons glare.

As fraught with weltering weed and wreck,
Through Flamburgh's fatal caves,
Their foam-crests eddying in the winds,
Resound the ocean waves:

As drives the scatter'd storm beneath
The painted arch of heaven,
So rush the remnants of the field,
With banners few and riven.

With ring of mail, and tramp of hoof,
They thunder through the bow;
But heartless vassals they are all,
For all their chiefs lie low.

And now the provost, while he weeps,
Plucks up a manly heart,

And bids the woeful wailing throng
  Forthwith to home depart.

With saintly love, and cheering prayers,
  Soft mingled for relief,
Good priests and lords, from Flodden spared,
  Would sooth Queen Margaret's grief.

" King Harry is my brother dear,
  Though fiery fierce he be,
He has a ruth and royal soul,
  And will prove kind to me."

" And should he not?" cried Angus' heir;
  " The Douglas still is true,
With pith enough in Scotland left
  Still to make Southrons rue."

The brightest gem in Margaret's crown
  Lord Douglas would despise,
Compared with the repaying tears
  That beam'd in her fair eyes.

So pass'd the night in Edinburgh town,
  When Flodden field was lost;
And all the gallant chivalry
  Of Scotland's crown was crost.

16. —— *James had died under sentence of excommunication.* Sect. xxiv. page 23.

The treaty, by the violation of which James was excommunicated, is signed by Andro of Murray. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 261. It was ratified by James himself, at Edinburgh, on the 28th November, 1509. Same vol. p. 268.

17. *The news of the victory was communicated to Henry by the Earl of Surrey, and to Wolsey by Queen Katherine.* Sect. xxiv. page 23.

In looking over a book of old papers in the British Museum, I found the following memorandum written on the back of the return of a muster-roll of an officer in the camp of Terouenne. It was probably made when the news of the victory arrived.

"The kinge of Scotts was fownd, slayn, by my Lord Dakers in the fronte of his bataylI, and also the Lord Maxwell and his brother the Lord Harryes, Erle Crauford, who is knowen, and the kynge of Scotts body is closed in lede and be kept till the kynges pleasure is knowen in Barwicke, and were slayn XI or XII M Scotts beside them that were slayn in the chase, and III bishops, and of Englishmen but III C p'sonys slayn."

18. *He had been scarcely invested with this new honour.* Sect. xxviii. page 25.

He was consecrated on the 26th of March, 1514.

19. *In the meantime, Pope Julius II.* Sect. xxix. page 25.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that a work so generally read as Hume's History of England should pass through several editions for the last twenty years, with the omission of the character of Pope Julius II. The passage alluded to may be found in the early editions of Hume's England in the reign of Henry VIII. about the year 1510, and on the subject of the league of Cambray. It exhibits one of those sketches of character for which Hume is justly celebrated, and in his best manner. The style is vigorous, the colouring impressive, and the whole piece indicates the hand of a master. It is as follows:—

"Alexander the Sixth was dead; a man of a singular character, and, excepting his son, Cæsar Borgia, almost the only man we read of in history who has joined great capacity with the blackest vices and the most abandoned profligacy of manners. After a short interval, Julius the Second

had succeeded to the papal throne, who, though endowed with many virtues, gave almost as much scandal to the world as his detested predecessor; his virtues were deemed unsuitable to his station of sovereign pontiff, the spiritual judge, and common father of Christians. Actuated by an unextinguishable thirst of glory, inflexible in his schemes, undaunted in his enterprises, indefatigable in his pursuits, magnanimous, imperious, domineering, his vast soul broke through all the fetters which old age and the priestly character imposed upon it, and, during his pontificate, kept the world in perpetual agitation."

20. —— *Abandoned him to the vengeance of all Christendom as an odious schismatic.* Sect. xxx. page 26.

Lord Herbert.

21. —— *It was understood he had come to Paris in order to marry the dowager.* Sect. xxxiii. page 27.

Fiddes.

22. —— *The great seal was given him for life, with the dignity of chancellor of the realm.* Sect. xxxv. page 28.

Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, was his predecessor. Between him and Wolsey a grudge had arisen from a matter of ecclesiastical etiquette. York claims primacy of England, Canterbury of all England; but Wolsey presumed to encroach on the jurisdiction of Canterbury, which led to vexation on the part of Warham, who saw that it was unavailing to contend against his influence. Prior to the erection of St Andrew's into an archbishopric, the jurisdiction of York extended over the Scottish bishops. The Christians in Scotland were never altogether under the papal sway, although the Roman Catholic religion was the established.—See Sibbald's History of Fyfe.—Warham appears to have been of a contentious disposition; for, in a controversy between him and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Julius II. was obliged to interfere, and wrote to the king to stop their disputes. The letter is still extant, dated at Rome, 13th March, 1512.—*Cottonian Library, Vitell. B. II. No* 15.

NOTES TO BOOK SECOND.

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1. —— *The investiture which had been made according to the treaty of Cambray.* Sect. ii. page 30.

Lord Herbert.

2. *He subdued the Aladolites, and, descending from their mountains upon Persia, defeated the sophy, and took possession of Touris.* Sect. vii. page 35.

General Monk mentions, that Selim was induced to undertake the invasion of Persia by the representation of one of the pashaws. The information however which the pashaw had given of the state of the country through which his march lay, was so incorrect, that the army lost a vast number of men, and suffered great hardships in those deserts, which had proved so disastrous to the Roman legions. Considering the pashaw justly responsible for his advice and information, he ordered him to be put to death, although the enterprise had proved successful.—*Observations on Military and Political Affairs, folio edit. page* 20.

3. —— *They had sometimes proved victorious over the numerous Ottoman armies.* Sect. viii. page 36.

Guicciardini.

4. *The emperor, with the horse and foot of his dominions, was to proceed by the Danube, and through Bosnia, towards Constantinople.* Sect. x. page 37.

I passed along part of this route in my journey to Widdin, and have described the country.

5. —— *Discovered a ludicrous collection of the crumbs and scraps of beggary.* Sect. xi. page 39.

Hall.

6. —— *Turned their thoughts again to the modes and means of overreaching each other.* Sect. xi. page 39.

Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

7. —— *Many national distinctions, which are better estimated by the feelings than by the judgment of mankind.* Sect. xiii. page 40.

The diplomatic inferiority of the English is of a very ancient date. William Tindall, in his *Practices of Popish Prelates,* says, that "the Frenchmen of late days made a play or a disguising at Paris, in which the emperor danced with the pope and the French king, and wearied them; the kind of England sitting on a high bench and looking on. And when it was asked why he danced not, it was answered, that he sate there but to pay the minstrels their wages only; as who should say, we pay for all men's dancing."—*Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. vol. i. page* 379.

8. —— *After twenty days' warning, they should be obliged to depart.* Sec. xiv. page 42.

Lord Herbert.

9. —— *The French had never ceased to grudge the loss of Tournay.* Sect. xvi. page 43.

This place the king had but little comfort of, being always in fear of surprise. The Cardinal had again another time in the month of May, whether in the year 1514 or 1515 I know not, intelligence brought him by a friar, whom he had employed as a spy, of a sudden attempt intended to be made on the place: of which the Cardinal and the council, from the palace at Hampton-court, wrote to Sir Richard Jernigan, now the king's lieutenant there, as certain news. This was wrote the 9th of May, and such speed was made,

that on the 11th, at night, the said lieutenant received it.—*Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. page* 11. *ed.* 1733.

10. —— *Henry was justly incensed at this, and wrote to his minister at the Papal court.* Sec. xvi. p. 44.

This prelate bequeathed a palace in Rome to the king of England, and which was afterwards called the English palace. It is now possessed by the Colonna family.—*Fiddes,* 171.

11. ——*"A great dishonour to the pope to have acted so indiscreetly."* Sect. xvi. page 44.

Fiddes's Coll. No 4.

12. —— *Mary to be held as betrothed to the dauphin.* Sect. xvi. page 45.

There was something ludicrous in this article, for the dauphin was not then born, but the queen was with child.

13. —— *It was likewise arranged that the courts of France and England should next year hold a friendly meeting on the plains of Picardy.* Sect. xvi. page 45.

Lord Herbert.

14. " —— *It is honourable to both," said Francis, " to desire an increase of dignity."* Sect. xviii. page 46.

Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

15. ——*In every place it was illuminated with the lustre of precious stones.* Sect. xxii. page 50.

Erasmus.

16. *A treaty was indeed concluded.* Sect. xxiii. page 52.

Rymer's Fœdera. June 6, 1520.

17. —— *When Charles departed to be crowned emperor, the people openly rebelled, assembled the junta,* &c. Sect. xxvi. page 55.

Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

18. —— *This proposal was accepted, and the Cardinal went to the place appointed.* Sect. xxvi. page 55.

August 1521.

19. —— *He permitted the Duke of Albany to depart for Scotland.* Sect. xxviii. page 56.

He reached Edinburgh on the 30th October, 1521.

20. —— *The pope consented to dispense with the obstacles of their affinity.* Sect. xxix. page 58.

Lord Herbert, 108.

NOTES TO BOOK THIRD.

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1. —— *Their inhabitants (the monasteries) did not languish for the want of any species of voluptuous enjoyment.* Sect. ii. page 61.

Burnet, 21.

2. —— *They are the sources of those peculiar restraints on territorial wealth by which the claims of creditors and the operations of equity are frustrated.* Sect. ii. page 61.

Although agriculture be the basis of all national prosperity, it is treated in this country as a pursuit subordinate to the fisheries. Medals and toys are distributed for its encouragement by clubs and individuals, as if such puerilities were sufficient to counteract the effect of a systematic castration of the industry of the farmer, by maintaining, in despite of right and justice, those laws which were originally framed to repress the rapacity of the clergy.

3. *Sometimes, it is true, the dramas exhibited in the cathedrals emitted a feeble ray of poetical genius in the midst of the most obscure logomachies; but it only served to make the surrounding darkness visible.* Sect. ii. page 61.

There is a very pretty monkish morality in the British Museum; the subject of which is the incredulity of Thomas. —*Cottonian (Library) Vespasian, D. VIII.*

The piece opens with a dialogue: Eneas and Cleophas.

Cleophas. Brother Eneas, I you pray,
Pleasing to you, if that it be,
To the castle then a little way
That you vouchsafe to go with me.

Eneas. Already, brother, I walk with thee
To yonder castle with right good cheer:
Ruing together, anon go we,
Brother Cleophas, we two, in fear.

Cleophas. Brother Eneas, I am sore mov'd
When Christ our master comes in my mind,
When that I think how he was griev'd
Joy in my heart I none can find:
He was so lowly, so good, so kind,
Holy of life, and meek of mood,
Alas! the Jews eyes they were too blind
Him for to kill, that was so good.

They continue to discourse on the crucifixion, when Christ joins them, and requests to walk with them in fellowship.

In the same volume, there is another composition still more singular. It is no less than a rude dramatic outline of the subject of Milton's Paradise Lost. It opens with one Deus giving the following account of himself:

My name is known, God and King,
My work to make well I wend,
In myself resteth my reign-ing,
It hath no ginning nor none end,
And all that ever shall have being
It is inclosed in my mind:
When it is made at my likeing,

I may it save, I may it chind,
After my pleasure.
So great of might is my powstie,
All things that be belong to me;
I am a God, in person three
Knit in one substance,
I am the true Trinitie
Here walking in the wone,
Three persons myself I see.
Looking in me God alone
I am the fader of powstie,
My son with me ginneth gone,
My ghost is grace, in majestie.
I willeth wealth up in heaven's throne.
One God three I call;
I am father of might,
My son keepeth right,
My ghost hath light
And grace with all;
Myself beginning never did take,
And endless I am through my own might.
First I made heaven with stars of light
In mirth and joy ever more to wake,
In heaven I beeld angels full bright
My servants to be all for my sake,
With mirth and melody worship my might.
I beld them in my bliss,
Angels in heav'n ever more shall be
With mirth and song to worship me
And joys they may not wis.

Here angels enter singing hallelujah. *Lucifer* then says,
To whose worship sing ye this song,
To worship God, or reverence me?

But ye me worship ye do me wrong,
For I am the worthiest that e'er may be.

Angel Boni. We worship God of might most strong,
Who hath formed both us and thee;
We may ne'er worship him too long,
For he is most worthy of majestie.
On knee to God we fall,
Our Lord God worship we,
And in no wise honoureth we thee,
A greater lord may ne'er now be
Than he that made us all.

Lucifer. A worthier lord, forsooth, am I,
And worthier than he e'er will be.
In evidence that I am more worthie
I will go sitten in God's see.
Above sun, moon, and stars or sky,
I am now set as ye may see.
Now worship me for most might,
And for your lord honour now me
Sitting in my seat.

Angel Mali. God mighty we forsake,
And for more mighty we thee take,
Thee to worship honour we make,
And fall down at thy feet.

Deus. Thee, Lucifer, for thy mighty pride,
I bid thee fall from heaven to hell;
And all who holden on thy side
In my bless never more to dwell,
At my commandment anon down them flyde
With mirth and joy never more to well;
In mischief and movas ay shall they abide,

In bitter burning and fire so fell,
In pain ever to be pight.

Lucifer. At thy bidding that will I work,
And pass from joy to pain so smart.
Now I am a devil full dark
That was an angel bright.
Now to hell the way I take
In endless pain into be pight,
For fear of fire a faint I crake
In hell's dungeon my doom is dight.

Deus. Now heaven is made for angels' sake
The first day and the first night;
The second day water I make,
The welkin also so fair and light.

N. B.—The reader, I am sure, will readily pardon the length of this curious quotation. Before Milton's day, his subject, if not attempted in prose, was certainly in rhyme. I am not aware that either of these two holy operas has ever been printed or quoted.

4. ——*The bull issued on that occasion is the first on record, by which a limit was put to a general privilege of the church.* Sect. iii. page 62.

19th June, 1504.

5. ——*The swarm of monks, who, from the days of the Saxon kings, had continued to multiply.* Sect. iii. page 62.

The extant accounts of the ancient British monks are very imperfect; they are sufficient, however, to show that the number was very great, and obedient to the bishop of Caerleon, as all the monks of the early ages of the church were to their bishops, according to the canons of the council of Chalcedon. During the ravages of the Danes, they were so much reduced, that the order was almost destroyed, and

their houses rendered every where desolate, till King Edgar was persuaded to restore them. He erected forty-seven monasteries, which he intended to increase to fifty—the jubilee number; and, from that period, monkery continued to thrive in England. In his reign, the celibacy of the clergy was established; for those who refused to part with their wives were then expelled from their livings by Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, Bishop of Worcester. The exemption of the monasteries from episcopal and regal jurisdiction did not, however, fully prevail until some time after.

6. *From the election of Alexander VI. the venality and vices of the pontifical government became notorious.* Sect. v. page 63.

Guicciardini.

7. *Even after he had been provoked to assail the papal sacraments, he showed himself still so much inclined to maintain exclusive prerogatives to the clergy.* Sect. vi. page 65.

His consent that the landgrave of Hesse should marry two wives, was, at least, a questionable dispensation. It may very fairly be said, either to have originated in a motive to gain the landgrave fully to his will, or to have been the beginning of new ecclesiastical dogmas, which circumstances afterwards frustrated.

8. ——*Whether his (Luther's) rebellion against the pope was inspired by religious integrity, or by carnal revenge.* Sect. vi. page 65.

Among the many weapons by which Luther was resisted, one was certainly peculiar to that age. Some of the astrologers took pains to shew that he had a very disadvantageous horoscope, and therefore could not succeed in his undertakings; others held opposite opinions, and declared that he was destined to be a great man.—*Fiddes, p. 147, ed. 1724.*

9. ——*Indulgences of the most odious description were sold in taverns and bagnios.* Sect. vi. page 66.

Guicciardini, lib. xiv.

10. ——*While the shrines were broken in Europe, the altars and idols of Asia and of the New World were also shaken and overthrown.* Sect. vii. page 69.

Lipsius and Paul Jovius.

11. ——*The author was compared to Solomon, and magnified for wisdom above all Christian princes that had ever existed.* Sect. viii. page 69.

Burnet.

12. ——*With the concurrence of the consistory, he bestowed the title of* DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, *as if the truth required any champion.* Sect. viii. page 69.

Fiddes mentions, that it appears from a charter of Richard II. to the university of Oxford, that he made use of the title of *the Defender of the Faith.—Page* 285.

Fuller says, in his Church History, " There went a tradition that Patch, the king's jester, perceiving the king very jocund one day, asked him the reason, and when the king told him it was because of his new title *Defender of the Faith,* the jester made this arch reply: ' Pr'ythee, good Harry, let thee and me defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend itself.' "—*Rapin, vol. i. page* 749, *note* 3, *folio ed.*

13. ——*They regarded all foreigners as barbarians.* Sect. ix. page 70.

Guicciar. lib. xiv.

14. ——*The cardinals, with their usual blasphemy, ascribed it to a special interference of the Holy Ghost.* Sect. x. page 72.

Guicciardini, lib. xiv.

15. ——*It has been alleged, that Charles did not exert himself on this occasion for the advancement of the Cardinal as he had promised; but the contrary is the fact.* Sect. x. page 73.

Charles certainly did write to his ambassador at Rome, to solicit the cardinals to elect Wolsey to the papacy. There is a letter of his to this effect, dated 30th December, 1521, in the Cottonian Library. Vitellius, B. IV. No 103.

16. — *He was next, in line of blood, to the crown, in the event of Henry VII.'s family becoming extinct.* Sect. xi. p. 73-4.

The following is the genealogy of Buckingham from Edward III.

Thomas Duke of Gloucester.

Earl of Buckingham=Eleanor Bohun, d. 1397.

Ann=Edmund Earl of Stafford.

Humphrey Duke of Buckingham.

Humphrey died vita patris.

Harry, beheaded 1485, father of Edward.

17. —*This antipathy, the narrow jealousy of aristocratic arrogance, was probably exasperated by the contempt with which it was retaliated.* Sect. xi. page 74.

The origin of Buckingham's hatred of Wolsey has been ascribed to various occurrences; but I think it more likely to have arisen from that indescribable antipathy which may have been produced by the character of the Cardinal operating on the pride and rash temperament of the duke. The incidents which are said to have caused their quarrel, I regard only as occurrences which served to publish the animosity of Buckingham. Some have said that the duke, holding the basin and towel to the emperor and the king at Canterbury, was enraged at the Cardinal for also attempting to wash his fingers while he held it. But this anecdote is not well authenticated, and is told in several different ways. Besides, those who lay stress on it must exculpate Wolsey from having resolved on the overthrow of Buckingham when he sent Surrey to Ireland, as the earl had departed for Dublin before the court removed to Canterbury, when this quarrel should have taken place.

There is another story which seems to illustrate the cha-

racter of the duke. One of the king's sworn servants having, without leave, removed into the service of Buckingham, was, on refusing to return, imprisoned by order of Wolsey; and being accused of this demeanour in the Star-chamber, and before the king in person, was found guilty, and obliged to return to his duty. Buckingham construed this proceeding into a personal affront, and never after ceased from reviling the Cardinal's administration.

18. —*A short time before his departure from London, his son-in-law, the Earl of Surrey, appointed viceroy of Ireland, had proceeded to Dublin.* Sect. xii. page 75.

April, 1520.

It has been regularly alleged, from the days of Polidore Vergil to those of Rapin, that Surrey was sent to Ireland in order that he might be out of the way when the ruin of the duke was determined. But the fact appears to be, that the Earl of Surrey was sent to Ireland a year before the arrest of Buckingham, and some time previous to the discharge of the servant, by whose evidence his desires were disclosed.

19. — *The lamentations, therefore, which accompanied his condemnation and execution* (*Buckingham's*). Sect. xv. page 77.

17th May, 1521.

20. —*This was rendered the more probable, as Queen Margaret, in consequence of a domestic disagreement, had detached herself from the English party, and openly declared that she was accessary to Albany's return.* Sect. xvi. page 78.

The Duke of Albany had certainly been recalled to Scotland by a large party in the state. The queen herself had invited him. After the battle of Flodden, she had married the young Earl of Angus, who proving an unfaithful husband, she had endeavoured, by the means of Albany, to procure a divorce; and among other causes that she alleged for seeking this indulgence, was a report that King James had not been killed in the battle, but was alive at the period of her second marriage. Henry disapproved of this proceed-

ing, and came to high words with his sister, who answered him in a letter of no small pith and spirit. Francis certainly connived at the return of Albany into Scotland, but there is no evidence which distinctly proves that he directly instigated it; on the contrary, Albany, it appears, was openly invited to assume the regency of Scotland.—*Lord Herbert.—See also Appendix.*

Rapin, 750.

21. — *The warden of the marches was accordingly commanded to pass the borders.* Sect xvi. page 78.

8th Feb. 1522. Stow, 515.

22. —*Francis had ordered the goods, debts, and persons of the English in Bourdeaux to be arrested.* Sect. xvii. page 79.

6th March, 1522.

23. —*The Cardinal instantly, on receiving the news, sent for the French ambassador, &c.* Sect. xvii. page 79.

"Laid sore to his charge." The Cardinal appears to have been in the practice of doing this to the foreign ambassadors whenever he was displeased with the conduct of their courts. In an extract of a letter from Sir Thomas Boleyne and Dr Sampson, dated at Valladolide, the 8th of March, 1523, and which I have introduced in the Appendix, they say, "Truth it is, they think your grace very sore in words to the ambassadors, the which, as is reported, they take not here as in the best part. Monsieur de Nassau showed us, that one day your grace said you would the emperor should show the money in hand for the great expedition, like as the king's highness shall for his part; otherwise you would believe nothing that the emperor should or might do; and that your grace should have said other words, the which he could not rehearse, and would they had not been spoken." Wolsey treated them very properly; it would have been well if later ministers had dealt as plainly.

24. — *Like the circulation of the blood, then very imperfectly known.* Sect. xviii. page 80.

Dr Harvey did not discover, but only demonstrated the circulation of the blood. Among many other notices of a knowledge of its motion in different writings, Brutus says to Portia, that she was

> " As dear to me as are the ruddy drops
> " That visit my sad heart."—*Julius Cæsar.*

25. *Property, which is the basis of political power, was anciently the legal and constitutional criterion of intellectual capacity.* Sect. xviii. page 81.

Property is the foundation of political privilege and power. Statutes and institutions may, for a time, suspend, but they cannot alter its consequence, nor prevent the possessors from recovering, sooner or later, their rightful influence in society. Under the feudal system, the value of property was fully recognised. In proportion to the extent and opulence of a man's estate were his privileges and authorities.

" Proud with victory, with riches, and with independence, the conquerors of the Romans separated to enjoy their possessions and their grandeur. They continued, as of old, to possess a military authority and a civil jurisdiction. The prerogatives, which before they had arrogated as due to their merit, they now enjoyed as holders of fiefs. In war, they commanded their vassals and retainers, and they judged of their disputes in times of peace. The inhabitants of their territories were soldiers and subjects. Their castles and household bore a resemblance to the palace and establishment of the sovereign. They had their officers and their courts of justice; and they exercised the powers of punishment and mercy. They continued to exert the privilege of making war of their private authority; and the sovereigns of Europe could behold subjects in arms, who infringed not their allegiance to the state."—*Stewart's View of Society in Europe, sect.* 3.

The Dukes, or Lords Palatine, enjoyed powers like those of the sovereign: they coined money, enacted laws, le-

vied taxes, raised troops, and exercised the prerogative of life and death. The king's writs did not run within the bounds of their territories. They could remove from his courts the suits of their vassals; and they might demand back all criminals who had fled from their authority. They engrossed whatever referred to the civil, the criminal, and the military powers.

The EARLS of counties, and those towns which were counties within themselves, judged of all civil deeds, determined concerning all crimes, except the pleas of the crown; and when no appeal was carried to the sovereign, their officers put in execution their decisions.

VISCOUNTS were, originally, only the deputies of the earls.

The BARONS possessed a jurisdiction similar to that of the earls, but it was confined within the limits of their own domains.

TENANTS holding lands on the tenure of providing for the array of the kingdom, the service of more than one knight or soldier in full armour, exercised an authority in many respects similar to that of a modern justice of the peace; and those who were bound to furnish only one knight also enjoyed a degree of manorial jurisdiction; even the vassals, who held but the eighth part of knight's service of land, were not without a due proportion of juridical power.

A fraction of land, of which the grant, by the agreement of the giver and the receiver, entitled to the service of a soldier or a knight, was a knight's fee. An estate of two hundred fees furnished two hundred knights.

The regular fractions of the fee, or knight's service, were eight parts, which were termed its members; and which had this appellation from their being bound to perform the purposes of the grant. Of these, the possessors, according to the feudal rules, had manors and jurisdictions. The fee was dismembered beyond the eight portions, into the twentieth, the thirtieth, the fortieth parts, and into fragments still more

minute. Hence the origin of the *wee* Scottish lairds, and that contemptible crew, who call themselves nobility, the barons of Germany.

Although the Christian clergy succeeded to the rights of the priests of the nations that destroyed the Roman empire, and as ministers of religion obtained admission into the national assemblies, it was not till after the fiefs became perpetual that they appeared there as barons; and it was the bishops only who sat in consequence of their spiritual functions, as well as by their temporal possessions. The abbots were admitted into the parliaments only by their territorial rights.

Besides the territorial privileges of individuals, communities were erected into corporations, and endowed with charters which conferred upon their magistrates a similar jurisdiction. Hence the origin of towns, boroughs, and cities. In England, under the Saxon government, several towns enjoyed extensive privileges; and in Scotland, burghers, in parliament, were of greater antiquity than knights of the shires. The earls of cities had jurisdiction over the places from which they derived their titles, similar to that which was possessed by the earls of counties. Bishops were of the same rank as earls. Marquises were not known anciently in England; and their rank in the orders of nobility is higher among us than it was on the continent.

As property constitutes the only solid and independent basis of political power; ability, where property is unrestrained by exclusive laws, will, in proportion to its degree, divide the possession. Privileges ought therefore naturally to be distributed in proportion to possessions; and, that power and ability may be united, property should be released from all exclusive laws, limitations of inheritance, and entail. But as there are two kinds of property, the one local and durable, the other floating and variable, the possessors of the one kind should be distinguished from those

of the other kind. The power of the monied interest should be different from that of the landed interest.

The military service of the subjects was anciently, in England, as regularly proportioned to their property as the degrees of power. By the 27th of Henry II. it was enacted, that whoever holds one knight's fee shall have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance; and every lay landholder (mark the exemption of ecclesiastical landholders) as many coats of mail, helmets, shields, and lances, as he has knights' fees in his domain. Every free layman, having chattels or rent to the value of sixteen marks, shall keep a coat of mail, a helmet, and a lance. Every free layman, having in chattels or rent ten marks, shall have a habergeon, a chaplet of iron, and a lance; also all burgesses, and the whole community of freemen, shall have each a wambies, a chaplet of iron, and a lance. By the 13th of Edward I., the statute of Winchester, the armour and weapons, directed to be kept by persons of different possessions, were allotted in similar proportions; and after the feudal system had fallen into decay, the rental of land was taken as the criterion to regulate the distribution of military obligation.—*See the 1st of Philip and Mary.*

26. — *The Cardinal, with a sumptuous train of ecclesiastics, received him again at Dover.* Sect. xxi. page 85–6.

May 26, 1522.

27. — *They empowered him to pronounce the sentence of excommunication on the first that infringed the articles of the contract.* Sect. xxii. page 87.

Lord Herbert, 118.

28. — *It has been said, that, although Charles appeared to treat Wolsey with so much deference,* &c. Sect. xxiv. page 88.

Godwin's Annals.

29. — *He conferred the honour of knighthood on several offi-*

cers who had signalized themselves in that exploit. Sect. xxv. page 89.

Holinshed, 874.

30. — *Informed their respective provinces when and where to assemble.* Sect. xxvii. page 90.

Burnet.

31. — *The Cardinal obliged them to adjourn their meeting to Westminster Abbey.* Sect. xxvii. page 90.

8th May, 1523.

32. — *What was required for the public service ought not to be considered as subtracted from the wealth of the nation.* Sect. xxix. page 93.

There is an anecdote told of the king on this occasion. Hearing that the Commons were likely to object altogether to the grant, he sent for one of the members, Edward Montagu, the ancestor of the dukes of that name, and, maternally, of the present Dukes of Marlborough and Buccleuch; and, upon his kneeling, exclaimed, "Ho! will they not suffer my bill to pass?" and, laying his hand upon Montagu's head, added, "Get my bill passed to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off."

Sir Thomas More, on this occasion, when introduced as speaker, addressed the king to the following effect:—"I am both wanting in wit, learning, and discretion to speak before so great a prince. Phormio, your majesty must well know, desired Hannibal to attend his lectures, which he consented to; but when Hannibal was come, Phormio began to treat of chivalry; upon which he immediately called him a fool for presuming to teach him, who was master of the art of war. So, in like manner, if I should speak before your majesty of learning, and ordering of the commonwealth, your highness being so well warned, and of such prudence and experience, might justly say to me as the great Hannibal said to Phormio."

I cannot understand how Sir Thomas More ever came to

be considered so highly among the worthies of England as he commonly is. He seems to have been a pleasant-tempered man; but much of his agreeable qualities arose from an excessive disposition to flatter. During the time he was chancellor, he was as fully complaisant to the king's humours as any of his previous ministers. His literary works have no great merit. I never could muster patience enough to read his Utopia. I suspect that much of his celebrity has arisen from his life having been written by his son-in-law.

33. — *Instead of double that sum, which the minister had requested* Sect. xxix. page 93.

The grant was two shillings in the pound on the income from estates of the annual value of twenty pounds and upwards; one shilling on the income of estates of the annual rent of forty shillings, and not exceeding twenty pounds; and a groat a head on every one upwards of sixteen years of age. It was, after the second visit of the Cardinal, agreed that estates of fifty pounds rental and upwards should pay three shillings in the pound. This sum, like the grant of the clergy, was payable in five years, but not annually.

34. — *The minister sent his secretary to St Paul's to receive the estimates of the citizens, without oath.* Sect. xxx. page 94.

Hall.

35. *The crown of Denmark was not then hereditary. The inheritance was limited to one family, but the son was not regularly the successor of the father.* Sect. xxxi. page 94.

This accounts for the circumstance of Hamlet, in Shakspeare's tragedy, not succeeding to his father. His uncle must have been chosen successor in the lifetime of the father.

36. — *The prerogative of election was also limited to a certain number of persons,* &c. Sect. xxxi. page 94.

The constitution of Sweden was anciently of the same description as that of Denmark, and Christern had previously

forfeited his right to the crown of Sweden also. The history of the revolutions in Sweden, ascribed to Vertot, commences by stating, that it continued an elective monarchy till about the middle of the fourteenth century. "For although," says the author, "the children and nearest relations of the deceased monarch were usually advanced to the throne, the order of birth-right was sometimes neglected, and the succession was always determined by choice. By virtue of this right of election, the Swedes oftentimes claimed a power to depose their sovereigns, when they encroached upon the liberty and privileges of the nation. The royal authority was confined within very narrow limits; for the king could neither make war nor peace, and much less raise money or soldiers, without the consent of the senate, or of the estates assembled."

37. — *The law extended over the inferior orders of the state in the Gothic nations.* Sect. xxxi. page 94.

See Pinkerton's Inquiry into the ancient History of Scotland. The Goths thought the line of blood more regular by the mothers than the fathers.

38. — *He actually excluded his eldest sister's heirs from the right of succeeding.* Sect. xxxiii. page 97.

There is a singular pamphlet written by one Edward Davies, for the express purpose of proving that Henry VIII. was an example of a patriot king. The author does not attribute the conduct of the monarch to personal feelings, but to public principles; and the truth certainly is, that the life of Henry VIII. requires still to be written.

39. — *He (Adrian) had not long done this when he fell sick and died.* Sect. xxxiv. page 98.

14th September, 1523.

40. — *The English and Imperial cabinets, aware of his disposition, incited him to the decisive step which he took at this time.* Sect. xxxvi. page 99.

Lord Herbert.

NOTES TO BOOK FOURTH.

1. — *The deluges were the blood of mankind, and the devastations proceeded from the sword.* Sect. i. page 101.

Many provident persons ascended to high places, and watched with anxious awe for the second flood. The abbot of St Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, built a house at Harrow on the Hill, for the retreat of himself and brethren. Among the many curious similarities between the administration of Pitt and Wolsey, future historians will probably notice the predictions of Brothers the fanatic, and the circumstance of many people quitting London on the day which he foretold it should be destroyed.

2. — *The Duke of Suffolk was appointed to the command of an army sent to invade France,* &c. Sect. ii. page 101.

20th September, 1523.

3. — *Surrey, in giving an account of this affair to Wolsey, says, that seven times that night spirits and terrible sights were visible.* Sect. iii. page 103.

The expense of the operations in France and Scotland drained the exchequer, and the Cardinal was obliged to call for a premature advance of part of the subsidy which had been granted by the convocation and parliament. The sum which he thus required was called an anticipation. As the term had hitherto been unknown in the language, and the

war was unpopular, the people thought they paid too dear for learning it.

4. — *England agreed to contribute* 100,000 *crowns monthly, unless the king himself invaded France with his own troops in person.* Sect. v. page 105.

Lord Herbert.

5. — *His cruisers molested their vessel; and he had raised the price of English money in his dominions, by which the value of their commodities was depreciated.* Sect. ix. page 109.

Holinshed and Hall.

6. *The Imperial minister, a man who scrupled not to aggrandise the reputation of his abilities at the expense of others.* Sect. x. page 110.

This diplomatic rascal's name was De Praet.

7. — *The expense had already greatly exceeded the sums voted by the convocation and by parliament : in consequence, it was resolved to levy an extraordinary contribution.* Sect. xvi. page 116.

There seems reason to think, but I have not ascertained distinctly the fact, that this contribution had reference to the grant of the parliament and convocation, and was founded on them. For among Masters's MS. collection in the library of Jesus College, Oxford, I met with the following note :—

" 1525. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk write to the Cardinal that the Commons lay all the blame on him ; and that, if any insurrection follow, the quarrel shall be only against him. The Cardinal writes to the same, that it is the custom of the people, when any thing miscontents them, to blame those that be near about the king ; and when they dare not use their tongues against their sovereign, they, for venting their malice, will not fail to give evil language against the council. * * * * * * It seems this amicable grant was a modification of a greater grant, which the Commons first condescended to, and after got it part reduced."

Henry VII. in the year 1489, obtained a similar kind of

grant from parliament. "Which kind of levying money was first devised by King Edward IV. King Henry, following the like example, published abroad, that by their open gifts he would measure and search their benevolent hearts and good minds towards him, so that he that gave most should be judged to be his most loving friend; and he that gave little to be esteemed according to his gift.—*Holinshed, fol.* 771.

8. — "*But, my lord," said this firm and intrepid citi-" zen, many of his laws are excellent.*" Sect. xvi. page 117.

The English nation is indebted for its best laws to the frequent usurpations of those who attained the throne to the prejudice of the lineal heirs. The laws of William I. and II. regulate the descent, and define the rights of territorial property to this day. The basis of Magna Charta was laid in the concessions with which Henry I. conciliated the people to his usurpation of the rights of his elder brother. John, who murdered the heir to the crown, granted the Magna Charta. Henry IV., who deposed Richard II., endeavoured to reduce the exorbitant cormorants of the church. Richard III. abolished the prerogative of applying directly to the people for money. In Oliver Cromwell's time, the principles of the navigation laws were first established. The faction who accomplished the revolution of 1688, procured, by William and Mary, the establishment of Protestantism. And the bringing in of the Hanoverian family defined the privileges of the king more explicitly than they had ever been before. Nations are the better now and then for having an usurper.

9. — "*If the king shall not happen to need it for the war, it may be returned to the contributors,*" &c. Sect. xvi. page 118.

Lord Herbert, 162.

10. — *The Princess Mary, the bride betrothed of the emperor, was consigned to his ministers,* &c. Sect. xviii. page 122.

Holinshed.

11. — *In their interview with Wolsey, they were, however, treated more according to the deserts of their government.* Sect. xix. page 122.

Holinshed, 387.

12. — *The regency of France further engaged, that the Duke of Albany should not return to Scotland during the remainder of the minority of James V.* Sect. xix. page 124.

The circumstance of a bond being given to the Cardinal for so large a sum as a hundred thousand crowns has been held as a proof of his corruption; but when the amount of the arrears of his pension is considered, and the revenues which he derived from Spain, and which there was every probability, at that time, would be arrested, there will be no reason for this opinion. Besides this, it was the practice of the age, on the occasion of concluding treaties, to give large presents, and often benefices to the ministers, who were commonly ecclesiastics. Cardinal Campeggio got from Henry VII. the bishopric of Salisbury, and the king's agent at Rome, Cardinal Adrian, was bishop of Bath.

13. — *The treaty arranged was duly ratified by the king.* Sect. xix. page 124.

At Moor in Hertfordshire, 30th August, 1525.

The terms in which the previous truce was proclaimed are singular, and perhaps without precedent.

" For as much as the lady regent of France, mother unto the French king, by consent of the princes and peers of the seignorial, and others of the council of the same, hath on the behalf of the French king, and of the three estates of the realm of France, sent unto the king's highness honourable ambassadors, sufficiently authorised to sue, require, and labour for peace; and the same, under honourable conditions and offers, to conclude with the king's highness, if it so shall stand with his gracious pleasure," &c. &c.—*Harleian Collection, No 442, No 27, page 55, 15th August,* 1525.

14. — *The children, in silence, passed across the deck to the boat which their father had quitted.* Sect. xxi. p. 125.

Lord Herbert says, they kissed their father's hand. Page 184.

15. — *Francis vaulted into the saddle, and exultingly exclaimed, as he galloped away, " I am again a king."* Sect. xxi. page 125.

Holinshed says, that the exchange took place on the 18th of March, 1526; but the bonds and letters of thanks and gratitude to the king and cardinal of England were dated at Bayonne on the 17th.

16. *Bourbon, to animate his men, seized a scaling-ladder, and, running forward, was shot, and fell dead on the earth.* Sect. xxiii. page 128.

There is some reason to think that Bourbon was shot by the celebrated artist Benvenuto Cellini; who some days after wounded the Prince of Orange as he reconnoitred the castle of St Angelo. See Nugent's Translation of the Life of Benvenuto Cellini, page 130, and also page 148. The incidents as described by Cellini are exceedingly interesting, and told with much of his characteristic vivacity and enthusiasm.

17. — *Nor was the Cardinal less eager to avenge what had happened, or to avert what might ensue.* Sect. xxiv. page 130.

The Cardinal ordered prayers to be said for the pope, and all people to fast four days in the week; but few fasted, for the priests said their commands were to exhort the lay people, and not to fast themselves. But the lay people said the priests should fast first, for the very cause of the fasting was for a priest; few however of either fasted.—*Hall.*

18. — *During the chanting of the pathetic orison prepared for the occasion*, &c. Sect. xxiv. page 132.

" Sancta Maria, ora! pro papa nostro Clemente."—*Cavendish.*

19. — *From Calais he went towards Amiens.* Sect. xxv. page 133.

It is not one of the least of the curious resemblances which the times of Cardinal Wolsey bear to those of Mr Pitt, that the neighbourhood of Amiens should have been the scene of a treaty which had the effect of terminating a war in a period so similar to that of the French revolution.

20. — *The inhabitants entertained him with Latin orations and triumphal processions.* Sect. xxv. page 133.

Notwithstanding all this public pomp and deference, the Cardinal, in private, suffered several little morifications. In every place where he lodged he was robbed of something valuable; and he met with a hieroglyphical admonition to humility, by a representation, one morning on his window, of a cardinal's hat with a gallows over it.—*Stow.*

21. — *By the time he was again mounted, the king, with his guards, had come very near.* Sect. xxv. page 134.

The guard of Scots that attended the French king on this occasion were more comely than all the others.—*Cavendish.*

22. — *They accordingly stripped the pope of all he possessed in the castle.* Sect. xxviii. page 137.

The money which, at this time, Clement was obliged to borrow, in order to satisfy the extortions of the officers, occasioned the first institution of public funds. It was borrowed at ten per cent. interest. To pay the interest, and to liquidate the principal, the *loughi di monte* were formed, which, under Sextus V., was reduced into a complete system.

The pope had in his disposal a number of special employments, which were extremely profitable to the occupiers. They were all during life. Sextus V. ordained, that as the occupiers dropped off, their employment should, for the future, be sold at certain fixed prices; and he formed a table, or tariff, which was never to be exceeded. The prices were so moderate as to leave a very considerable profit to the pur-

chasers. These offices were called vacabili, because they were vacable or transferable from any occupier under sixty years of age to another, though of inferior age. The sums received from the sales of these vacabili formed a sinking fund for the extinction of the public debt.

23. — *Turned him into the streets, as the best way of executing the emperor's instructions.* Sect. xxviii. page 137.

The pope probably did not give up quite so much as I have been led to think from Guicciardini; at least Benvenuto Cellini mentions an anecdote that affords some ground for believing that he deceived the Imperial officers:—"I must inform the reader," says Benvenuto, "how Pope Clement, in order to preserve his regalia, together with all the jewels of the apostolic chamber, sent for me, and shut himself up with the master of the horse and me in an apartment. They placed before me the regalia, with all the vast quantity of jewels belonging to the apostolical chamber; and his holiness ordered me to take off the gold in which they were set. I did as I was directed, and, wrapping up each of them in a little piece of paper, we secured them in the skirts of the pope's clothes and those of the master of the horse."—*Life of Benvenuto, page* 146.

24. — "*Because your imperial majesty will not agree to equitable terms of peace; nor pay your debts to the King of England,*" &c. Sect. xxix. page 138.

Charles having married the princess of Portugal, forfeited to Henry, by not marrying his daughter, five hundred thousand crowns, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Windsor.

25. — *As for the sons of your king, it is not my fault that they are not free; I hold them in pawn, and he should redeem them.* Sect. xxix. page 139.

The mean and sordid spirit of Charles and the Spanish government was fully shown in the treatment which the helpless children of Francis received. They were consigned

to the custody of a stupid superstitious wretch, a marquis of the name of Virlanga, and imprisoned in the castle of Pedracu. A French officer, who was sent to visit them, found them in a dark dirty room, playing with dogs and dolls, and neglected in their persons. They had forgotten all their native language, and he was obliged to make use of an interpreter. How different was this from the entertainment which James I. of Scotland received while a prisoner in England! The officer presented them with new clothes, which the marquis would not allow to be put on, until first tried upon the bodies of other boys; for he believed that there were witches in France, who could transport, through the air, any one, whose bodies were touched by their ointments. Lord Herbert, in speaking of this circumstance, endeavours, in words without meaning, to give another reason for the conduct of Virlanga; but the notion was not peculiar to that despicable Spaniard,—it was common to the age.

Bodin, according to Reginald Scot,* tells a tale of a nobleman of Lyons, who, being in bed with his mistress, she rose in the night, and, lighting a candle, took a box of ointment, with which she anointed her fair body, and, after a few words spoken, she evanished. The gentleman seeing this, leapt out of bed, and, taking the candle in his hand, searched for the damsel; and not finding her, took also the ointment and anointed himself, and was suddenly transported to Lorrain, into the midst of an assembly of witches.

There were two kinds of this ointment: the ingredients of the one were fat of young children, seethed with baptismal water, in a brazen vessel, to which were added eleoselinum, aconitum, frondes populeæ, and soot; and of the other, sium, acarum vulgare, pentaphyllon, the blood of a bat, solanum somniferum, and oleum, mixed up together.

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* Discovery of Witchcraft, ed. 1584.

"Witches," says Scot, "are women which be commonly old, lame, blear-eyed, pale, foul, and full of wrinkles; poor, sullen, superstitious, and papists; or such as know no religion, in whose drousie minds the devil hath gotten a fine seat. They are lean and deformed, showing melancholy in their faces, to the horror of all that see them. They are doting, scolds, mad, devilish, and not much differing from them that are thought to be possessed of spirits."*

The ancient Scottish practice of accusing a witch was highly commended. "A hollow piece of wood or chest," says Bodin, "is placed in the church, into which any body may freely cast a little scroll of paper inscribed with the witch's name, with the time, place, and fact of the witchcraft. The keys of the box were lodged with the ecclesiastical inquisitors."† A witch engaged, on being taught by the devil the secrets of the craft, not to observe certain ceremonies of the church, to conceal faults at confession, and fastings on Sundays. The reader will here remark, that the acts of witchcraft were injurious to the priesthood. Burns, the poet, in his incomparable poem of Tam o' Shanter, has admirably described the revels of witches at an initiation. Reginald Scot mentions, that they were said in his time "to meet the devil at an appointed place, where they fell a danceing and singing of baudie songs, wherein the devil leadeth the dance himself; which dance and other conferences being ended, he supplieth their wants of powders and roots to intoxicate withall, and giveth to every novice a mark either with his teeth or with his claws, and so they kiss the devil's bare buttocks and depart."‡ Bodin mentions, that at these magical assemblies the witches sing, "Har, har, devil, devil, dance here, play here, sabbath, sabbath; and while they sing and dance, every one hath a broom in her hand, and

* Reginald Scot, p. 7. † Ibid. p. 42. ‡ Ibid. p. 43.

holdeth it up aloft." Their dance was called La Volta, and was brought originally out of Italy into France.

When the Inquisition was instituted in the twelfth century by Pope Dominick III., the crime of witchcraft, as it came afterwards to be considered, was not then known. The Inquisition was formed to detect heretical opinions and secret abominations; and it was in consequence of considering all who were obnoxious to its authority as persons of the same description, that the strange stories of the practices of witches arose in the world.

The origin of the opinion of compacts with the devil is long posterior to the institution of the Inquisition. It was first broached by a young fellow who had been condemned by the inquisitors either for carnal or spiritual reprobation, in the hope of thereby saving himself, and of getting rid of his wife.* Strange as it may now seem, there are no accounts of witches, in the sense in which we understand the term, before the year 1400, about the time in which John Huss, who had embraced the opinions of Wickliffe, began to preach in Germany. There are innumerable stories of ghosts, apparitions, black, white, and grey; devils of all colours and qualities, forms and dimensions; magicians, sorcerers, wizards, and every other kind and sort of superstitious agent; but prior to the epoch alluded to, I have not been able to find that there is any account of those social ministers of mischief, which afterwards became so famous by the name of witches. Sociableness is the peculiarity which distinguishes witches from all other traffickers in the mysteries of futurity: none other were wont to hold meetings in churches and other lonely places.

Cardanus, in speaking of the horrible assemblies which P. Sellus describes, of the "*magical hereticks,*" the Eutychians,

* Reginald Scot, p. 15.

says, "they had originated in the orgies of Bacchus; which, having been prohibited, were held secretly:" but they had no pretensions to weird influence.

We suspect not the viciousness and presumption of man, till we attempt to trace the antiquity, and to ascertain the extent of human folly. Many of those who were prosecuted and punished for having entered into compacts with the devil, and whose secret meetings were held in desolate churches and unfrequented haunts, were the early and sincere, but timid, worshippers of truth.—Such is the malignant efficacy of using terms of reproach,—such is the effect of calling those who hold opinions different from ours by such dreadful names as witches and heretics, whigs and tories, jacobins and methodists; for they all, when considered with their respective circumstances, but imply opponents to the ruling power.

The celebrated Johannes Weirius, sanctioned by the authority of Andreas Massius, one of the most famous Hebrew scholars that ever lived, has shown, that the term which has been translated *witch* in the English version of the Bible is derived from a word that means, literally, *poisoner;* and is figuratively applied to idolatry, sedition, and other delusive practices."* It has been translated into Latin *veneficium.* The term was applied in a figurative sense originally to those who were afterwards stigmatized by the name of heretics, when they openly opposed the papal doctrines. As *magician*

* The following is a note of all the places in the Bible where the terms witch and witchcraft are used:—Micah, 5 cap. 12; Nahum, 3 cap. 4; Isaiah, 47 cap. 9 & 12; 2 Kings, 9 cap. 22; Jeremiah, 27 cap. 9; Deuteronomy, 18 cap. 10; Malachi, 3 cap. 5; Exodus, 7 cap. 2; Daniel, 2 cap. 2; 2 Chronicles, 33 cap. 6; 1 Samuel, 1 cap. 23; and Exodus, 23 cap. 23.—The law rendered, "Thou shalt not suffer a *witch* to live," should be, "Thou shalt not suffer a *poisoner* to live."

primitively signified a *wise man*, so *witch* properly signified a *skilful woman*, and was applied to simplers and midwives; but having become reproachful, by the pretensions of quacks in these professions, it stood, in the public usage, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, as equivalent to *poisoner*; while it also implied the magical skill and foreknowledge which simplers and midwives were then supposed to possess. In translating, therefore, from the briefs and decretals of the clergy, against those who cherished the opinions of Wickliffe, witchcraft came to be used for what signified only heresy. Hence the origin of confounding the secret meetings of the reformists with the rites of wizards and the orgies of the Eutychians. After the Reformation, the laws, which had been chiefly enacted against the secret followers of Wickliffe, as creatures of the most detestable kind, came to be enforced against those miserable human beings whom Reginald Scot has described and vindicated. I cannot conclude this note without quoting a speech of the celebrated judge, Sir Matthew Hale, on charging the jury at the trial of several witches who were condemned at Bury St Edmunds, on the 10th March, 1664. I quote from a report of the trial before me:—"That there were such creatures as witches he made no doubt of at all: for, *first*, the scriptures had affirmed so much; *secondly*, the wisdom of all nations had provided laws against such persons, which is an argument of their confidence of such a crime; and such hath been the judgment of this kingdom, as appears by that act of parliament which hath provided punishments proportionable to the quality of the offence." The unhappy victims of superstition were condemned and executed on Monday the 17th of March, "but they confessed nothing." So much for the state of the wisdom of our ancestors eighty years after the publication of Reginald Scot's curious and benevolent book.

26. *Slaying with the sword religious persons of all descrip-*

tions, till the air and the earth have been infected. Sect. xxix. page 140.

t this time a pestilence raged in most parts of Europe.

21. *The walls of his chambers were hung with cloth of gold, and tapestry still more precious, representing the most remarkable events in sacred history.* Sect. xxx. page 142.

The subjects of the tapestry consisted of triumphs, probably Roman; the story of Absalom, bordered with the Cardinal's arms; the petition of Esther, and the honouring of Mordecai; the history of Sampson, bordered with the Cardinal's arms; the history of Solomon; the story of Susannah and the elders, bordered with the Cardinal's arms; the history of Jacob, also bordered; Holofernes and Judith, bordered; the story of Joseph, of David, and of St John the Baptist; the history of the Virgin; the passion of Christ; the Worthies; the story of Nebuchadnezzar; a pilgrimage;—all bordered. His chapel had three organs, and was ornamented with statues of St John, the Virgin, the Mother and child, St Matthew, St Anthony, St Barbara, and pictures made of inlaid wood and ivory. Some of these latter kinds of pictures were, in that age, made in a very superior style. A catalogue of part of his furniture is in the British Museum.

Dr Barnes, one of the martyrs of the Reformation, raised his voice against the inordinate pomp of the Cardinal, in a sermon which he preached at Cambridge; for which he was summoned before him. "What, master doctor," said Wolsey, "had you not sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my poll-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my cross, did so offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jolily that day laughed to scorne. Verily it was a sermon more fitter to be preached on a stage,* than in a

* What could the Cardinal mean by this? Were stages in his day common? What kind of stages could he allude to? The

pulpit; for at the last you said I wear a pair of redde gloves, I should say bloudy gloves (quoth you), that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." Barnes answered: "I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience." "Then," said the Cardinal, "how think you, were it better for me, being in the honour and dignity I am, to coyne my pyllers and poll-axes, and to give the money to five or six beggars, than for to mayntaine the commonwealth by them, as I do?"—*Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. i. page* 356.

28. *The sons of the nobility, according to the fashion of the age, tended him as pages.* Sect. xxx. page 142.

"He had also always nine or ten lords, who had each two or three (servants) to wait on them;* except the Earl of Derby, who had five."—*Cavendish.*

Hume speaks of the young nobility wearing the Cardinal's livery, as if such a thing had not happened before, and was peculiar to his household. "Some of the nobility," says the philosophical historian, "put their children into his family, as a place of education; and, in order to ingratiate them with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants." It was, however, the practice of the time, and of some antiquity. "A custom which had been introduced in former ages, seems in this (Henry VIII.) to have been carried almost beyond credibility: it was that of retaining in the houses of the nobility the sons of their superior dependants, where their educations were completed, who, with a numerous retinue of servants, were all known by the badges of their lord." *Dallaway's Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of Heraldry in England, page* 186. Whiting, Abbot of Glastonbury, who was contemporary with Wolsey, retained

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Princess Mary acted in one of Terence's comedies, at an entertainment which the king gave the French commissioners after the banquet of Hampton Court.

young noblemen. And Gavin Douglas, the celebrated Bishop of Dunkeld, who was also a contemporary of Wolsey, mentions that he learnt the dialect which he makes use of in his poetry when he was a page. *Ellis's Early English Poets, vol. i. page* 397. And Douglas was a son of old Bell-the-Cat, Earl of Angus, a man who was not likely to have allowed his sons to serve as pages, had not the custom been common. The practice, in fact, continued till the reign of Charles I. Dr Fiddes mentions that, in his time, the then Earl of Stafford had a letter of instructions written by the Earl of Arundel, in the year 1620, for the benefit of his son William, then in the house of the Bishop of Norwich, in which he says, "You shall, in all things, reverence, honour, and obey my Lord Bishop of Norwich, as you would do your parents, esteeming what he shall tell or command you, as if your grandmother of Arundel, your mother, or myself, should say it; and, in all things, esteem yourself as my lord's page,—a breeding which youths of my house, far superior to you, were accustomed to, as my grandfather of Norfolk, and his brother, my good uncle of Northampton, were both bred as pages with bishops."

29. — *The dessert, which consisted of figures, castles, and cathedrals, in confectionary.* Sect. xxxi. page 143.

See Appendix to Dallaway's Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of Heraldry in England.

NOTES TO BOOK FIFTH.

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1. — *The delight which the nation has always received from wonderful tales has drawn upon Irishmen the imputation of being credulous.* Sect. ii. page 146.

In the sixteenth century a remarkable class of adventurers, called Carrows, who followed no other profession but cards, was entertained among them. These carrows, being commonly well-born, but without patrimony, gleaned a livelihood by passing, in quest of play, from house to house among the gentry. To such an infatuated degree were they devoted to this thriftless commerce, that they have sometimes pledged their clothes; and, when stripped to the skin, have lain by the highways trussed in leaves and straw, inviting the passengers to a game on the green, at which, having nothing else to stake, they put to hazard the glibbs on their foreheads, their nails, and even their limbs and members, to be lost or redeemed at the courtesy of the winner.—*Campion.*

2. — *The successful candidate was placed on a stone consecrated by the use of ages for that purpose.* Sect. iii. page 146.

The ancient practice of crowning the Scottish kings on the black stone of Scoone was derived, no doubt, from a similar practice. The black stone of Scoone was carried from Scotland by Edward I. It stands in Westminster Abbey, and is placed under the coronation chair of the British kings.

There is a prophecy concerning this stone, which says, that wherever it is carried the Scots shall bear sway.

3. — *The abolition of opinions, which have become habitual.* Sect. iv. page 149.

In the recent discussions relative to the judicature of Scotland, the consequences of the judges being obliged to deliver their opinions on the bench was not sufficiently considered: nor does it seem to have been the thought that it necessarily rendered them personally interested in every trial before them. Where a man delivers an opinion professionally, if it happen that another differ from him, he cannot avoid giving the reasons upon which he formed his opinion; and to maintain the correctness of his reasons is essential to his character. It is thus with the Scotch judge; and perhaps not only the delays, but the errors of decision, in the Court of Session, may be attributed to the public deliberations of the judges. Indeed, otherwise, it is not easy to conceive how fifteen men, of the best education of the kingdom, and, commonly, of more than ordinary talents, should not have been able to afford so much satisfaction, nor to decide so correctly, as the common run of juries. The Scotch senate of justice, in its very nature, is equivalent to a jury; and the only difference between it and the twelve good men and true of England is, that the former acts individually, and the other collectively. Oblige the Scotch judges to deliver their decisions as a body, and the utility of a jury may be fairly questioned in the administration of the Scottish law.

4. — *Were deemed incapable of enjoying the beneficence of jurisprudence.* Sect. iv. page 150.

Sir John Davies, in the year 1612, published a curious tract on this subject. It is worthy of being reprinted at the expense of the Irish nation.

5. — *It was deemed necessary to send commissioners.* Sect. vii. page 153.

Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, one of the justices of the Com-

mon Pleas; Ralph Egerton; Dr Denton, Dean of Litchfield, —*Holinshed*, 883.

6. — *Acrimony of the Cardinal's taunts, which they were themselves often obliged to endure.* Sect. viii. page 156.

Skelton, who was the Peter Pindar of his day, gives the following ludicrous description of the Cardinal, in a satire for which he prudently took refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey:

"Our barons are so bold,
Into a mouse hold the wold
Run away and creep;
Like as many of sheep,
Dare not look out a dur,
For dread of the mastiff cur;
For dread of the butcher's dog,
Would worry them like a hog.
For if this cur do gnar,
They must all stand afar,
To hold up their hand at the bar.
For all their noble blood
He plucks them by the hood,
And shakes them by the ear,
And brings them in such fear,
He baiteth them like a bear,
Like an ox or a bull.
Their wits he saith are dull:
He saith they have no brain
Their estate to maintain;
And makes to bow the knee
Before his majesty.

Judge of the king's laws,
He counts them fools and daws;
Sergeants of the coif eke,
He sayeth they are to seek,

In pleading of their case
At the Common Pleas,
Or at the King's Bench,
He wringeth them such a wrench,
That all our learned men
Dare not set their pen
To plead a true trial
Within Westminster-hall.
In the Chancery where he sits,
But such as he admits,
None so hardy are to speak.

He saith, 'Thou huddy peak,
Thy learning is too lewd,
Thy tongue is not well thew'd
To seek before your grace,
And only in this place.'
He rages and he raves,
And calls them canker'd knaves.
Thus royally he doth deal,
Under the king's broad seal.
And in the chequer he them checks,
In Star Chamber he nods and becks,
And beneath him their so stout,
That no man of them dare rout,
Duke, earl, baron, nor lord,
But to his sentence must accord;
Whether he be knight or squire,
All must follow his desire."

7. — *The earl, being afterwards pardoned, returned home.* Sect. viii. page 160.

There is a story told of Kildare, but it seems so imperfectly authenticated that I have omitted it in the text. It is reported that he was found guilty of treason, and, being in the Tower a prisoner, was one evening amusing himself at

some game of pastime with the lieutenant, when a mandate came from the Cardinal for his execution. The earl, suspecting some foul play, persuaded the lieutenant, who, by right of office, had access to the king at all times, to go and ascertain whether his majesty was privy to the warrant. The king, who admired the character of Kildare, is said to have been greatly astonished at the presumption of the Cardinal, and to have forbade the execution. But the story is altogether exceedingly confused, and there is no trace of Kildare having been at all tried. Besides, the warrant could not have been issued without the sign manual; and the Cardinal was not charged in his impeachment with ever having attempted to exercise an authority so illegal as to send forth a warrant for execution without having obtained the king's consent and signature.

8. —*It was only opinions and principles, surreptitiously concealed under the Christian name, that really guided the policy of rulers and the conduct of men.* Sect. ix. page 181.

See Middleton's Letter from Rome. There is a curious history connected with this celebrated performance. In the year 1667, a book was printed, in French, at Leyden, which had been translated into English, under the title of "The Conformity between Modern and Antient Ceremonies." The translator says the original is so scarce, that, though conversant in large well-furnished libraries, he never met with but two copies; and he therefore conceived, that the impression may have been bought up by the Roman priesthood,—a mode of assassinating truth which they often practised. However, it would appear that certainly more than two copies did exist in this country; for the motive which led him to make the translation arose out of the great popularity of the letter from Rome by Conyers Middleton. That learned doctor of divinity, in his preface to his work, says, "Many writers, I know, have treated the same subject before me; *some of which I have never seen,* but those I have

looked into, handle it in a manner so differently from what I have pursued, that I am under no apprehension of being thought a plagiary, or to have undertaken a province already occupied." But, upon comparing his performance with the translation alluded to, there certainly never was a more clear case of plagiarism; for there is nothing at all important in the doctor's letter which is not taken from the other book, although there are many things in the other book which are not in the doctor's letter. He has, in fact, being a sort of a classical man, confined himself to the pilfering of the quotations and allusions to the classics. I should not have noticed this literary fraud, but for a slander which Middleton has propagated against the Cardinal. He says, in his dedication to the Bishop of Norwich, after speaking of the effects which the freedom of printing had in dissolving the influence of the papal spells and superstition, "In the very infancy of printing amongst us, Cardinal Wolsey foresaw this effect of it, and, in a speech to the clergy, publicly forewarned them, that if they did not destroy the press, the press would destroy them." Now, this not only shows the most complete ignorance of the history of Wolsey, but also of the origin of the church of England, of which the author was a member, but is as false in statement as some other passages from his pen. The truth is, that what Middleton ascribes to the Cardinal was said by the Vicar of Croydon, in Surrey, in a sermon which he preached at Paul's Cross, about the time that the New Testament was translated. "We must," said the vicar, "root out printing, or printing will root out us." *See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. i. page 927. See also Lewis's History of the Translations of the Bible, 8vo. edit. page* 71.—It is curious to trace the regular descent of scandal, when it is once sanctioned by an authority. I remember, in reading a book of travels (I think Barrow's in China), of meeting with a repetition of the aspersion, which Middleton, in his ignorance, has thrown out on Wolsey.

9. — *The tranquillity which ensued was called the truce of God.* Sect. x. page 164.

Favyn's Theatre of Honour.

10. — *The first general result of the Reformation was the transfer of the political power possessed by churchmen into the hands of the hereditary class.* Sect. xiii. page 168.

The effect which the progress of society in this country has had in the choice of ministers of state, would afford a curious subject of investigation. In the rude and early times, when war was the business of the people and the study of the rulers, the ministers were men who had proved their capacity in the field of battle. After the different kingdoms of the heptarchy were consolidated under one crown, and when the clergy had obtained access to the secrets of men's minds and a separate establishment, the ministers were generally ecclesiastics. On the abrogation of the papal authority, the nobility succeeded to the power and emolument of state administration; but they in turn seem also destined to make way for the lawyers. The military rulers disciplined the people into order and subordination; the clergy reduced into a system (keeping in view the advancement of their own class) those maxims and regulations by which the military preserved submission and obedience; and the nobility, less numerous than the clergy, and more interested in the concerns of the people, have improved and extended, though still with reservations to their own advantage, the laws and usages which their ecclesiastical predecessors introduced.

11. — *In all protestant nations, the lawyers have superseded the clergy in the administration of political justice and the rules of life, in which the substance of all human power really consists.* Sect. xiii. page 168.

I am not qualified to speak on the special privileges of lawyers; but I believe, that in England they are not liable to arrest for debts; that in open court they may deliver the

most libellous slanders, without being liable to prosecution; and that it is absolutely necessary to employ them in many of the most essential circumstances of life. The exclusive privileges and immunities of the lawyers is a curious and interesting topic. They seem, all things considered, to have been of pretty rapid growth since the abolition of the politico-clerical influence.

12. *Erasmus, with his accustomed sycophancy towards the prosperous great, describes the Cardinal's table, &c.* Sect. xiv. page 168.

Sir Thomas More gives a caricatured description of the Cardinal at his table. "It happened one day, that he had, in a great audience, made an oration, wherein he liked himself so well, that at his dinner he sat on thorns till he might hear how they that sat with him might commend it. And when he had sat musing a while, devising, as I thought, upon some pretty proper way to begin, at last, for the lack of a better, he brought it even bluntly forth, and asked us all how well we liked the oration. But when the problem was once proposed, till it was full answered, no man, I ween, ate one morsel more;—every man fell into so deep a study for the finding of some exquisite praise; for he that should have brought out but a vulgar and a common commendation, would have thought himself shamed for ever. Then said we our sentences by row as we sat, from the lowest unto the highest, in good order, as it had been a great matter of the common weal, in a right solemn council. He that sat highest, and was to speak, was a great beneficed man, and not a doctor only, but also somewhat learned indeed in the laws of the church. A wonder it was to see how he marked every man's word that spake before him; and it seemed, that every word, the more proper it was, the worse he liked it, for the cumberance he had to study out a better to pass it. The man even swet with labour, so that he was fain in the while to wipe his face."—Sir Thomas, although he speaks

of the personage so bepraised as a great man of Germany, evidently meant Wolsey. The caricature is, however, more disgraceful to the guests than to the patron.

13. — *The chronological compilations of that period are still the great quarries of English history.* Sect. xv. page 170.

I have never been able to bring myself to entertain any feeling approximating to respect for the works of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, and the other tribe of rhymers that preceded the reign of Henry VIII. They seem to me to have acquired their fame before the nation knew any thing of poetry, and to have remained famous when their works are no longer read. There is a little sprinkling here and there of *naiveté* in Chaucer, but his lists and catalogues of circumstances are any thing but poetry. Lydgate is bare naked prose. The honest man speaketh indeed very truly of himself:—

> "I not acquainted with muses of Maro,
> Nor with metres of Lucan or Virgil,
> Nor sugared ditties of Tullius Cicero,
> Nor of Homerus to follow the fresh style,
> Crooked to climb over so high a style,
> Or for to follow the steps aureate
> Of Francis Petrak, the poet lauriate."
>
> *Lydgate's St Albans.*

In the course of my researches among the deservedly-neglected works of the ancient authors, preserved as curiosities in the British Museum, I fell in with one piece which drew my attention more particularly; not, however, on account of any beauty that it possesses, but as one of the earliest allegorical poems in the English language. It is called "The Castle of Labour," and is written with the same moral purpose as the Magical Castle of Indolence by Thomson. I selected those passages that appeared to me the best. The

reader will be amused to observe a remote resemblance in the opening to the commencement of Thomson's masterpiece:

> " Ye mortal people that desire to obtain
> Eternal bliss by your labour diligent,
> With mortal riches subdue your pain,
> To read this treatise to the right intent,
> Which shall show you, plain and evident,
> That Idleness, mother of all adversity,
> Her subjects bringeth to extreme poverty."

The poet feigns himself to be newly married; and, while in bed along with his wife, ruminating on his future prospects, hath divers visions. Heaviness, *alias* Dulness, is tolerably well described :—

> " Him to behold I was dismayed,
> How he of things past did clatter.
> ' Many take to me,' he said;
> He had well learned for to patter!
> Of things to come fast did he chatter."

DESPAIR.

> " Came to me, Despair, in cruel ordinance,
> One of the worst of all the sort,
> She was chief captain of their dance,
> And daughter unto Discomfort.
>
> This Despair did me so assail
> That lost was my discretion,
> My face began for to wax pale
> By fear of her cruel vexation.
>
> So cruel was her perturbation,
> Which on me she did extend,

2

That I thought, in conclusion,
Of myself to make an end.

I was ready to run here and there,
To climb up high, and then to fall,
By my life I set not one hair,
By means of this fury infernal."

REASON.

" As I was in this perturbation,
I saw a lady pleasant and bright,
For to behold her meek fashion
Soothly it was a pleasant sight.

Her caperon with pearl was pight,
With precious stones about illumining;
Her beautiful face shone as bright
As Phœbus doth in a May morning."

Reason tells him, after some wholesome counselling, and when he shall have subdued Pride—

" After that Pride is from thee chased
By the might of Humility,
With another thou shalt be menaced
More dangerous, called Envy,
Accompanied with Misery,
With Falsehood, Murder, and Treason,
Such shall be in his company,
With Slander and false Detraction."

ENVY.

" Ill report hath he in his parish,
With many vices and divers,
Which unto virtue are reproach,
Hym alway tending to reverse."

CHARITY.

"Charity hath waiting on her dignity
Very true Love and Misericord,
Benevolence, with Grace and Verity;
Among them found is not Discord,
But Peace, Meekness, and Concord."

IRE.

"Cruelty beareth his hanger,
Felony is his chief champion,
Perversity is his porter,
Madness reigns in his dungeon,
Cursed Murder, that false felon
Of his house, is as chief captain:
There is a cursed Religion
To him that followeth their train."

Dr William Bulleyn, who lived during the administration of Wolsey, gives the following allegorical critique on the ancient English poets:—

"Witty Chaucer, who sat in chair of gold, covered with roses, writing prose and rhyme, accompanied with the spirits of many kings, knights, and fair ladies, whom he pleasantly besprinkled with the sweet water of the well consecrated to the muses, named Aganippe. Near also sat old moral Gower, with pleasant pen in hand, commending honest love without lust, and pleasure without pride; holiness in the clergy without hypocrisy;—no tyranny in rulers,—no falsehood in lawyers,—no busary in merchants,—no rebellion in the commons,—and unity among kingdoms, &c. There appeared also, lamenting Lydgate, lurking among the lilies, with his bald sconce, and a garland of willows about it. Booted he was after St Burnet's guise; and a black stemmel robe, with a monstrous hood, hanging backward; his body stooping forward, bewailing every state with the spirit of providence; foreseeing the falls of wicked men, and

the slippery seats of princes; the ebbing and flowing, the rising and falling of men in authority; how virtue advances the simple, and vice overthrows the most noble of the world. Skelton sat in the corner, with a frosty-bitten face, frowning, and scarcely yet cooled of the hot-burning choler kindled against the cankered Cardinal Wolsey, writing many a sharp disticon with bloody pen against him, which he sent through the infernal Styx, Phlegeton, and Acheron, by the ferryman of hell, called Charon, to the said Cardinal. Then Barclay, in a hooping russet long coat, with a pretty hood in his neck, and fine knots upon his girdle, after Francis's tricks. He was born beyond the cold river Tweed; he lodged upon a sweet bed of camomile, under the cinamon tree, about him many shepherds and sheep, with pleasant pipes, greatly abhorring the life of courtiers."

Dr Berkenhout very flatly contradicts Sir George Mackenzie for placing Barclay among Scottish authors; but Bulleyn, who was contemporary with him, very clearly, in the preceding passage, mentions the fact; and there are internal evidences in the author's works besides, which render the point indisputable.

14. *Warton, in speaking of the state of poetry in the reign of Henry VIII., observes, &c.* Sect. xvii. page 173.

"The marriage of a princess of England with a king of Scotland, from the new communication and intercourse opened between the two courts and kingdoms by such a connexion, must have greatly contributed to polish the rude manners, and to improve the language, literature, and arts, of Scotland."—*History of English Poetry.*

15. — *If diplomatic correspondence and the occasional visits of courtiers have any effect on the progress of nations, the English were more likely to have been indebted to the Scots.* Sect. xvii. page 173.

In the year 1515, one of Sir David Lindsay's comedies was acted at the court of Scotland. I have not been able to

find, that during the whole public life of Wolsey any secular dramas in English were exhibited in England. The Princess Mary performed in a Latin comedy, which was got up at Greenwich, for the entertainment of the French commissioners sent to ratify the treaty concluded by Wolsey for the extrication of the pope. Dr Berkenhout mentions, in the preface to his Biog. Brit. that about the year 1110, one Geoffrey, a schoolmaster in Dunstable, wrote a drama called St Katherine, which the doctor, considering as a play, says that it carries the authentic history of the English theatre two hundred years higher than that of any other modern nation. But I conceive that we ought to reject the ecclesiastical performances from the history of the stage; and the title of St Katherine implies that it was a monkish exhibition. In the reign of Richard I. Seneca's tragedies, and some other Latin dramas, were translated into English by Henry, a monk of Hyde Abbey. Lord Berners, who died in 1532, was one of our earliest dramatic poets. I have not been able to meet with any of his works; and those of Lord Morley, who was almost his contemporary, are supposed to be lost. I have given, in the Appendix, extracts from translations of Seneca's tragedies made about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

16. — *Yet the literature of the nation has certainly not declined.* Sect. xvii. page 174.

Unless the king himself have an unaffected predilection for the arts and sciences, the court is not more favourable to the improvement of knowledge, than the universities of Oxford and Cambridge under their existing constitutions. A century has elapsed since either of these great seminaries has possessed, as a resident member, perhaps it may be added, produced one man of influential genius; one who has improved the public taste, or extended the horizon of science. In men of learning, and men whose talents have been strengthened by the reflections of others, undoubtedly the

universities of England have not been less prolific, even in proportion to the superior opulence of their endowments, than those of any other country; but persons versed only in books are not entitled to be classed with those men who, by the activity of their genius and the novelty of their notions, affect the mass of the public mind, and change its bias and motion. It can never indeed be admitted, that the granting of emolument to the professors of definite and enacted opinions will promote the essential interests of reason and literature.

There is a list of the most remarkable of the recent offspring of Oxford and Cambridge among the notes of Dr Parr's celebrated Spital sermon. It is undoubtedly a splendid list of able characters; but which one of them all is entitled to the epithet of a man of genius, in the proper meaning of that term? which of them can be considered either as the head of his class, or the founder of a school?—a Sir Isaac Newton, a Milton, a Dryden, an Addison, an Adam Smith, a Franklin, or a Davy?

17. — *It was only remarkable for ingenious hypotheses, unsupported by the evidence of facts, and for a credulous faith on astrological influence, equally visionary.* Sect. xviii. page 174.

I am induced, at the suggestion of a friend, in addition to what I have already said upon the obsolete science of astrology, to insert here Sir Christopher Heydon's account of the tides, from his "Defence of Astrology," published in 1603.—"All, or most authentique writers, yea Picus himself, attribute the ebbing and flowing of the sea to the moone, as to a true and positive cause. We see by experiences that the moon placed in the heavens at such a position the seas flow, and at such a position ebbe, and otherwise not; and therefore she is the cause thereof." *Page* 431.—"Our spring tides are never but in the conjunction of the sunne and moone, when the beams of both lights are united in a right line." *Page* 464.

—"The sunne and other starrs may hasten, hinder, or alter the moon's influence, as we see in spring tides, at the change and full moone, and neap tides at quarters."—*Page* 443.

With respect to the astrological opinion of the lunar influence on diseases, a work has lately been published by a medical gentleman, the result, I understand, of his own observations during a residence in India. I have not seen the work itself.

18. — *By a draft of the statutes written by Wolsey himself, it appears that the permanent members of the college were intended to consist of a dean, &c.* Sect. xx. page 178.

"The Cardinal's college was one of the first seminaries of an English university that professed to explode the pedantries of the old barbarous philosophy, and to cultivate the graces of polite literature."—*Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. page* 3.

At this period, a great contest arose in the university of Oxford respecting the modern pronunciation of the Greek language. The opponents of the new style called themselves Trojans; they had a Priam, a Hector, a Paris, &c. But what was at first merely jocular, became the cause of serious quarrel. The students felt the rivalry of the ancients, whose names they had assumed, and the Isis was disturbed with taunts that might have frightened the Scamander. The pulpit became as it were a tower of Ilium, for a pious priest took an opportunity of declaiming, with the rapture of Cassandra, against all Greek and Latin literature. At length the Cardinal, like Jupiter, interposed, and the Greeks, as of old, were victorious.

19. — *He took measures to obtain copies of all the manuscripts in the Vatican, in addition to the ordinary means of procuring books.* Sect. xx. page 179.

Fiddes, 306.

Among the various charges that have been made against the Cardinal, the burning of the first translation of the Testament

is considered not the least heinous. But it ought to have been remembered, that the translation was not destroyed merely because it served to make the vulgar acquainted with the truths of Christianity, but because it was full of errors. The resolution to withhold the Scriptures from the people was an after thought of the priesthood. In the time of Wolsey, so far from the idea being entertained, it was well known that several translations did exist of the Scriptures in this kingdom. The following is a chronological account of them :—

A. D. 679. In an extraordinary consistory held at Rome about British affairs, it was, among other things, ordained that lessons out of the Divine oracles should be always read for the edification of the churches.

734. Bede died in this year, and in his time the Anglo-Saxonic translation of the Old and New Testaments existed.

1228. The first synodical prohibition, or restraint of the liberty or birth-right of Christians in the use of the Holy Scriptures in their own language, was made this year in a synod held at Tholouse, on occasion of the doctrine and preaching of the Waldenses, " That the Holy Scripture is the rule of Christian faith, and that the reading and knowledge of it is free and necessary to all men."

1349. Richard Rollo, a hermit of Hampole, in Yorkshire, died. He translated and wrote a gloss in English of the Psalter; at the end of which he gave this account of his performance. I quote his own words, altering only the spelling. The changes in the English language, since that time, chiefly affect the orthography. " In this work I seek no strange English, but lightest and commonest, and swilk that is most like unto the Latin ; so that they that know not the Latin, by the English may come to many Latin words. In the translation, I follow the letter as meikle as I may, and thor I find no proper English, I follow the wit of the words, so that they that shall read it, them dare not dread erring. In the expounding, I follow holy doctors. For it may come

into some envious man's hand that knows not what he should say, that will say, that I wist not what I said, and so do harm till him and till others." The first psalm in this translation begins:

" Blessed is that man, the which ga' heed not in the council of wicked,
And the way of sinful stood not, and in the chair of pestilence sat not."

The second psalm also thus:

" Why gnash'd the folk, and the people thought idle thoughts?"

In the MS. library of Bene't College, Cambridge, is a gloss on some of the books of the New Testament in the English about the period of the Conquest. As a specimen of the translation the following may be subjoined:—

Mark i. 7. " And he preached, saying, a stolworther than I shall come after me, of whom I am not worthy downfallen or kneeling to loose the thongs of his chaucers."

Mark vi. 22. " When the daughter of that Herodias was in come, and had tumbled and pleside to Herod, and also to the sitting at meat, the king says to the wench ——."

Mark xii. 1. " A man made a vinerie, and he made about a hedge, and grofe a lake, and bigged a tower."

1381. Some time before this year Wicklif published his translation of the Bible.

1394. About this time the Queen of England had the gospels in the English tongue.

1462. The Bible first printed.

1526. Tyndal's translation of the Testament printed.

1527. Tyndal's translation of the Testament suppressed and burnt, on account, as it was alleged, of numerous heretical errors and false translations. Burnt at the instigation of the Bishop of London, with the Cardinal's authority.

1530. Tyndal's translation of the five books of Moses printed.

1531. Tyndal's translation of Jonas' prophecy printed.

The avidity with which the translations of the Scriptures were bought and read, attracted the attention of government. On the 25th May, 1531, the king held a great council, for the purpose of determining what should be done in order to counteract the effects of the imperfect translations; and it was resolved that the Scriptures should be purely translated.

20. — *Allen, his chaplain, whom he had appointed the judge, &c.* Sect. xxiii. page 182.

John Allen. He was appointed to the bishopric of Dublin in 1528. "The five persons employed by the Cardinal to take measures for the demolition of the monasteries quarrelled among themselves. One killed another, and was hanged for it; the third drowned himself in a well; the fourth was reduced to beggary; and Allen, afterwards a bishop, was cruelly maimed in Ireland."—*Stow.*

21. — *The king, it is true, after the affair of the prioress of Winton, continued to evince the same unlimited friendship, &c.* Sect. xxiii. page 184.

Storer, from whose beautiful and very scarce poem I have already made several extracts, gives the following picturesque description of the Cardinal as a patron of literature:—

> "Look how the God of Wisdom marbled stands,
> Bestowing laurel wreaths of dignity
> In Delphos isle, at whose impartial hands
> Hung antique scrolls of gentle heraldry,
> And at his feet ensigns and trophies lie:
> Such was my state, whom every man did follow,
> A living image of the great Apollo.

NOTES TO BOOK SIXTH.

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1. — *A bull was, notwithstanding, obtained from Julius II. to authorise and sanctify its accomplishment.* Sect. iii. page 187.

6th December, 1503. Burnet's Col. Book II. No I.

2. — *After the death of Claud, &c.* Sect. x. page 193.

Hall gives a dark and mysterious hint about the death of this lady. In the year 1525, the Earl of Angus came from France to England; and, being at Windsor, he declared, that in the council of France, while he was there, they happened to talk of the wars then raging between Charles and Francis; upon which one lord stood up and said, it were better that one person suffered, rather than all the realm should be daily in this mischief. It was asked what he meant. He answered, that if the queen, who was lame and ugly, were dead, ways might be found for the king to marry the emperor's sister, and to have with her the duchy of Milan; and then with her money the King of England could be paid. But whether this was true or false, certain it is that the French queen died very soon after.

3. — *He had before violated his conjugal fidelity, &c.* Sect. xi. page 196.

He had a son by a daughter of Sir John Blunt.

4. — *The earliest regular despatch written on the subject of the divorce is dated five months posterior.* Sect. xii. page 196.

5th December, 1527.

5. — *What that way was likely to be, the Cardinal was well aware, and in consequence addressed Clement with uncommon vehemence and eloquent anxiety.* Sect. xii. page 198.

16th February, 1628. Burnet's Coll. No 8.

6. — *An officer, called the apparitor, cried aloud, " Henry, King of England, come into the court."* Sect. xvi. page 204.

Burnet affirms, that the king did not appear personally, but by proxy; and that the queen withdrew, after reading a protest against the competency of her judges: " and from this it is clear," says the bishop, " that the speeches that the historians have made for them are all plain falsities." But it must be observed, that the testimony for the personal appearance of the king before the cardinals is surprisingly powerful, even though we do not go beyond Cavendish and the other ordinary historians. But, in addition to these, reference may be made to the authority of William Thomas, clerk of the council in the reign of Edward VI., and a well-informed writer, who, in a professed apology for Henry VIII., extant in MS. in the Lambeth and some other libraries, speaking of this affair, affirms, " That the Cardinal (Campegius) caused the king, as a private partye, in person to appeare before him, and the ladie Katharine both." Page 31.—*Wordsworth's Ecc. Biog. vol. i. p.* 423.

7. — *" For myself," said he, " rather than be swayed by fear or affection against the dictates of my conscience, I will suffer to be torn to pieces joint by joint."* Sect. xviii. page 209.

Burnet's Coll. No xxix. page 75.

8. — *Rochford knelt down at the bedside, and, weeping, made no reply.* Sect. xix. page 211.

Cavendish.

9. — *She was related to the emperor, who had refused to feed his insatiable ambition with the papal dignity.* Sect. xx. page 212.

It is very doubtful if Charles, at any of the elections which happened during the administration of Wolsey, was able to have procured him the popedom ; and I have not found any evidence of the Cardinal ascribing his disappointments to remissness on the part of the emperor. The sequel of the queen's affairs shows clearly, that she did Wolsey wrong in considering him as actuated by malice or resentment against her : so far, indeed, was this from being the case, that it may be said, he sacrificed himself rather than consent to decide unjustly against her. The despatches relative to the election after the death of Adrian commence at page 80 of Dr Fiddes's Collections.

Charles, on the death of Adrian, as well as at the death of Leo, wrote to Rome in favour of Wolsey. I do not see any reason to disbelieve his imperial majesty, especially as we have it certified by himself in a letter to the Cardinal, dated at Pampeluna, 16th December, 1523.—*Cottonian Library, Vespasian, c. ii. No 52.*

10. — *He opened the Michaelmas term at Westminster-hall with all his usual pomp and ceremony.* Sect. xxi. page 215.

A contemporary poet gives the following description of the style of his procession :—

" Before him rideth two priests strong,
And they bear two crosses right long,
Gaping in every man's face.
After him follow two laymen secular,
And each of them holding a pillar
In their hands, instead of a mace.

Then followeth my lord on his mule,
Trapped with gold under her cule
In every point most curiously.
On each side a pole-axe is borne,
Which in none other use are worn,
Pretending some high mystery.
* * * * *

Then hath he servants five or six score,
Some behind and some before;
A marvellous great company;
Of which are lords and gentlemen,
With many grooms and yeomen,
And also knaves among.
Thus daily he proceedeth forth,
And men must take it at worth,
Whether he do right or wrong."

The following description of the Cardinal's person may be added:—

A great carl he is and fat;
Wearing on his head a red hat,
Procured with angel's subsidy;
And, as they say, in time of rain,
Four of his gentlemen are fain
To hold o'er it a canopy.
Besides this, to tell thee more news,
He hath a pair of costly shoes
Which seldom touch the ground;
They are so goodly and curious,
All of gold and stones precious,
Costing many a thousand pound.
And who did for these shoes pay?
Truly many a rich abbey,
To be eased of his visitation.

11. — *Inventories were made of his furniture, &c.* Sect. xxi. page 216.

In the Harleian Library in the British Museum there is one of the Cardinal's inventories. When I opened it, the sand was still sticking on the ink, and it appeared in many places not to have been opened since it was written.

12. — *He rewarded the bearer of this gratifying intelligence with a chain of gold and a precious relic from about his neck.* Sect. xxii. page 217.

"The Cardinal presented the messenger with a chain of gold, at which a piece of the cross hung; but it troubled him much that he had nothing to send to the king, till at last, having espied in his train a facetious natural, in whom he took much delight, he desired the messenger to present him to the king. The fellow, however, did not much relish his promotion, for the Cardinal was obliged to send six of his tallest yeomen to carry him to court."—*Lord Herbert*, 293.

13. — *The course which the king pursued, though dictated, no doubt, by some remains of tenderness, was that of all others against which he was least able to bear himself with fortitude.* Sect. xxiii. page 219.

In the fine moral scene between Wolsey and Cromwell, in Henry VIII., Shakspeare appears to have made use of Storer's poem; at least there is something in the tone of the following stanza that reminds me of several expressions in the Cardinal's reflections :—

> "If once we fall, we fall Colossus like,
> We fall at once like pillars of the sun;
> They that between our stride their sails did strike,
> Make us sea-marks where they their ships do run,
> E'en they that had by us their treasure won."

NOTES TO BOOK SEVENTH.

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1. — *The abortive assurances that he had received from the king.* Sect. vi. page 230.

Storer, in making him describe his feelings after his fall, uses one of the most pathetic and original images in poetry:

"I am the tomb where that affection lies
That was the closet where it living kept;
Yet wise men say, Affection never dies:
No, but it turns; and, when it long hath slept,
Looks heavy like the eye that long hath wept."

2. — *Like many other great men in adversity, his mind took a superstitious turn, &c.* Sect. vii. page 231.

"As my lord was accustomed to walk towards the evening in his garden there (*Richmond*), and to say his even-song, and other his divine service, with his chaplain, it was my chance to wait upon him; and standing in an alley, whilst he in another alley walked with his chaplain, saying his service, as is aforesaid; as I stood I espied certain images of beasts counterfeited in timber standing in a corner under the lodge, to the which I repaired to behold; among whom I

saw stand there a dun cow, whereon I most mused, because of the like entailing (*sculpture*) thereof. My lord, being in the further side of the garden, espied me, how I viewed and surveyed these beasts; and, having finished his service, came suddenly upon me or I was aware, and speaking to me, said, 'What have you espied here, that you look attentively upon?' 'Forsooth, if it please your grace,' quoth I, 'here I behold these images; the which, I suppose, were ordained to be set up within some place about the king's palace: howbeit, sir, among them all, I have most considered this cow, in which, as me seemeth, the workman has most lively showed his cunning.' 'Yea, marry,' quoth he, 'upon this cow hangeth a certain prophecy, the which is this; because peradventure you never heard it before, I will show you. There is a saying,—

When the cow rideth the bull,
Then, priest, beware thy scull.

Of which prophecy, neither my lord that declared it, nor yet I that heard it, understood the effect; although the compassing thereof was at that present aworking, and about to be brought to pass. This cow the king had by reason of the earldom of Richmond, which was his inheritance; and this prophecy was afterwards expounded in this way:—The dun cow, because it was the king's beast,* betokened the king; and the bull betokened mistress Ann Bullen, who was after queen, because that her father had a black bull's head in his

* Almost all the signs of the public-houses in England were originally the crests or arms of popular public characters. The dun cow of the alehouses probably originated in the reign of Henry VII., who was Earl of Richmond. The chequer of the public-houses in London was the arms of the Earls of Arundel, who had anciently the privilege of licensing them.

cognizance, and was his beast; so that when the king had married Queen Anne, the which was unknown to my lord, or to any other, that he would do so: then was this prophecy thought of all men to be fulfilled; for what numbers of priests, religious and seculars, lost their heads for offending such laws as were made to bring this marriage to effect, is not unknown to all the world.'"—*Wordsworth's Cavendish*, p. 480.

3. — *He held frequent conferences with a venerable old man belonging to the brotherhood of the Charter-house at Richmond.* Sect. vii. page 231.

"Every day he resorted to the Charter-house there (*Richmond*), and in afternoons he would sit in contemplation with one of the most ancient fathers of that house in their cells, who converted him, and caused him to despise the vain glory of the world, and gave him shirts of hair to wear, the which he wore diverse times after."—*Wordsworth's Cavendish*, p. 481.

4. — *On the following Thursday kept Maunday, according to the practice of the church, &c.* Sect. viii. page 232.

"Upon Palm-Sunday he bore his palm, and went in procession with the monks, setting forth the divine right honourably, with such singing men as he had there of his own; and upon Maunday-Thursday he made his maunday there in our Lady's chapel, having fifty-nine* poor men, whose feet he washed and kissed; and, after he had wiped them, he gave every of the said poor men twelve pence in money; three ells of good canvas to make them shirts; a pair of new shoes; a cast of red herrings, and three white herrings; and one of them had two shillings."—*Wordsworth's Cavendish*, p. 485.

* This number denoted that he was then fifty-nine years old.

5. —"*Neither in word nor deed have I injured the king, and I will maintain my innocence face to face with any man alive.*" Sect. x. page 234.

Cavendish, with his accustomed minuteness, gives a very pathetic account of the Cardinal's feelings on the day prior to his removal from Cawood.—"I resorted unto my lord, where he was sitting in a chair, the tables being spread for him to go to dinner. But as soon as he perceived me to come in, he fell out into such a woeful lamentation, with such rueful tears and watery eyes, that it would have caused a flinty heart to mourn with him; and as I could, I, with others, comforted him; but it would not be: for (quoth he) 'now I lament that I see this gentleman (meaning me) how faithful, how diligent, how painful, he hath served me, abandoning his own country, wife and children, his house and family, his rest and quietness, only to serve me, and I have nothing to reward him for his high merits. And also the sight of him causeth me to call to my remembrance the number of faithful servants that I have here with me, whom I did intend to prefer and advance to the best of my power from time to time, as occasion should serve. But now, alas! I am prevented, and have nothing here to reward them; all is deprived me, and I am left their miserable and wretched master. Howbeit (quoth he to me, calling me by name) I am a true man, and you shall never have shame of me for your service.' 'Sir, (quoth I unto him,) I do nothing mistrust your truth; and for the same I will depose both before the king and his honourable council. Wherefore, sir, (kneeling upon my knee) comfort yourself, and be of good cheer. The malice of your ungodly enemies cannot and shall not prevail. I doubt not but, coming to your answer, my heart is such, that ye shall clearly acquit yourself, so to your commendation and truth, as that, I trust, it shall be much to your great honour, and restitution unto your former estate.' 'Yea,

(quoth he,) if I come to my answer, I fear no man alive, for he liveth not that shall look upon this face (pointing to his own face) that shall be able to accuse me of any untruth; and that know well my enemies, which will be an occasion that they will not suffer me to have indifferent justice, but seek some sinister means to dispatch me.' 'Sir, (quoth I,) ye need not therein to doubt, the king being so much your good lord, as he hath always showed himself to be, in all your troubles.' With that came up my lord's meat; and so we left our former communication, and I gave my lord water, and set him down to dinner; who did eat very little meat, but very many times suddenly he would burst out in tears, with the most sorrowful words that have been heard of any woeful creature."—*Wordsworth's Cavendish, page* 519.

6. — *In this situation he was found by Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower.* Sect. xi. page 235.

The Cardinal having been once informed that he should die at Kingston, he interpreted it to mean Kingston on the Thames, which made him always avoid the riding through that town, though sometimes the nearest way to his house from the court. Cavendish, hearing of Sir William's arrival, went to the Cardinal, who was sitting on a chest at the upper end of the gallery, with his staff and his beads in his hand. Upon hearing the name of Sir William Kingston, he repeated it once or twice, and sighed deeply, adding to some observations which Cavendish made, "Well, well, I perceive more than you can imagine or do know. Experience of old hath taught me."

7. — "*Had I served God as diligently as I have done the king he would not have given me over in my grey hairs.*" Sect. xii. page 238.

This sentiment seems to be common to fallen ministers. When Samrah, the governor of Busorah, was deposed by Maoujyah, the sixth caliph, he is reported to have said, "If

I had served God so well as I served him, he would not have condemned me;" and Antonio Perez, the favourite of Philip II. of Spain, made a similar complaint.

8. — *As the clock struck eight he expired.* Sect. xii. page 238.

November, 29, 1530.

9. — *The funeral service was protracted by unusual dirges and orisons, and it was past midnight before the interment took place.* Sect. xiii. page 238.

Storer, in allusion to the obscurity of the Cardinal's grave, says, in addressing Melpomene,

" Perchance the tenour of that mourning verse
May lead some pilgrim to my tombless grave,
Where neither marble monument nor hearse
The passengers' attentive vein may crave;
Which honours now the meanest person have.
But well is me, where'er my ashes lie,
If one tear drop from some religious eye."

Bishop Corbet, in his " Iter Boreale," also, in allusion to the same circumstance, says,

" Although from his own store Wolsey might have
A palace or a college for his grave,
Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all
Of him to be remember'd were his fall;
Nothing but earth to earth, nor pompous weight
Upon him but a pebble or a quoit."

10. — *Few have been thrown down from so great a height under the imputation of smaller crimes.* Sect. xiv. page 239.

Lord Herbert, 343.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

BOOK I.

WHEN I first projected this work, I made a large collection of state papers, and copies of original letters, which I intended to have modernized in the orthography and grammar; but I was afterwards induced to alter this intention, and to consider the Appendix as the inferior part of my book. have, therefore, only selected such of the papers as I thought necessary to verify the facts that I have added to the relation of circumstances in the narrative, and the notices that I have introduced of the different public personages with whom Wolsey had to deal. J. G.

A Narrative, supposed to be a contemporary, or rather a kind of Gazette, Account.

"Hereafter ensue the trewe encountre or batayle lately don betwene Englande and Scotlande. In which batayle the Scottishe kynge was slayne.

"The maner of thaduauncesynge of my lord of Surrey, treasourier and marshall of Englande, and leuctenunte generall of the north parties of the same, with XXVI.M men to wardes the kynge of Scots and his armye, vewed and nombred to an hundred thousande men at the leest.

" Firste my said Lorde at his beynge at Awnewik in Northumbrelande the iiij. daye of Septembre the v. yere of y[e] reygne of kynge Henry the VIII. herynge that y[e] kynge of Scottes thenne was remoued from North'me, and dyd lye at forde castel, and in those partyes dyd moche hurte in spoylyng, robynge, and brennynge, sent to the sayde kynge of Scottes ruge cros purseuaunte at armes to shewe vnto hym that for somoche as he the sayde kynge, contrary to his honour, all good reason and conscyence, and his oothe of fidelite, for y[e] ferme entartnynge of perpetuall peas betwene the kyng hygnes our souyerayne lorde and hym, had inuaded this raalme, spoylad brente, and robbyd dyuers and sondery townes and places in the same. Also had caste and betten downe the castel of Norhame, and crewelly had murdered and slayne many of the kynnes liege people, he was co'men to gyue hym baytal. And desyred hym y[t], for so moche as he was a kynge and great prynce, he wolde of his lusty and noble courage consent therunto, and tarye y[e] same. And for my sayde lordes partie his lordeship promysed y[e] assured accomplysshement and perfourmance therof as he was true knyght to God and the kynge his mayster. The kynge of Scottes herynge this message reyceued and kepte w[t] hym y[e] sayd ruge cros purseuaunte and wolde nat suffre hym at y[e] tyme to retourne agayne to my sayd lorde.

" The v. daye of Septembre his lordshyp, in his approchynge nyghe to the borders of Scotlande, mustred at Bolton, in Glendayll, and lodged that nyght therein y[t] felde with all his armye.

" ¶ The next day beynge the vi daye of Septembre, the kynge of Scottes sent to my sayd lor of Surrey a harolde of his called Ilaye, and demaunded if that my sayde Lorde wolde iustefye the message sent by the sayd purseuaunte ruge cros as is a foresayd, sygnefyinge that if my lorde wolde so doo it was the thynge that moost was to his joye and comforte. To this demaunde my lord made answere afore

dyuers lordes, knyghtes, and gentlme' nyghe iii myles from the felde where was the sayde harolde was apstoynted to tarye, bycause he shulde nat vewe the armye, that he commaunded not oonly the sayde ruge cros to speke and shewe the seyde wordes of his message, but also gaue and comytted vnto hym the same by instruccyon sygned and subscrybed with his owne hande, whiche my sayde lorde sayd he wolde justefye. And for so moche as his lordshyp conceyued by the sayde harolde how joyous and comfortabel his message was to y^e sayde kynge of Scottes, he therfore, for the more assuraunce of his message, shewed that he wolde be bou'den in x.m li and good suertes with his lordshyp to gyue the sayde kynge batayle by Frydaye next after, at the furthest, if that the sayde kynge of Scottes wolde assyne and appoynte any other erle or erles of his realme to be bounden in lyke maner that he wolde abyde my sayde lordes commynge. And for somoche as the sayd kynge of Scottes reyued styll with hym ruge cros purseuau'te, and wolde nat suffre hym to retourne to my lorde, my sayde lorde in like and semblable maner dyd kepe with hym the scottesshe harolde Ilay, and sant to the sayd kynge of Scottes with his answere and further offer, as is afodre rehersed, a gentylman of Scotlande that accompanyed and came to my sayde lorde with the sayd harolde Ilay. And thus Ilay contynued, and was kepte close, tyll the commynge home of ruge cros, whiche vas the next daye after. And thenne Ilay was put at large, and lyberte to retourne to the kynge of Scottes his maystere, to shewe my lordes answeres, declaracyons, and goodly offers, as he had hade in euery behalue of my sayde lorde.

" ¶ The same daye my lorde deuyded his arme in two bataylles; that is, to wytte, in a vau'warde and a rerewarde; and ordeyned my Lorde Howarde admorall, his sone, to be capitayne of the sayde vaunwarde, and hymselfe to be chefe capitayne of the rerewarde.

" ¶ In the breste of y^c sayd vaunwarde was w^t the sayde

lorde admorall ix thousande men; and vnder capitaynes of the same breste of the battayle was the Lorde Lumley, Syr Wyll'm Bulmer the Baron of Hylton, and dyuerse other of the byschopryche of Duresme, vnder Seynt Cuthbert his banner; the Lorde Scrope of Upsall, the Lord Ogle, Syr Wyllyam Gascoygne, Syr Cristofer Warde, Syr John Eueringh'm, Sir Walter Griffith, Syr John' Gower, and dyuers other esquyres and gentylmen of Yorkeshyre and Northumberland. And in ayther wynge of the sam batayle was iiiM. men.

"¶ The capitayne of the right wynge was mayster Edmonde Howarde, son to my seyde Lorde of Surrey: and with hym was Syr Thomas Butler, Syr John Boothe, Syr Richarde Boolde, and dyuerse other esquyers and gentylmen of Lancasshyre and Chassyre.

"¶ The capitayne of the laste wynge was olde Syr Marmaduke Co'steble, and with hym was mayster Wyll'm Percy, his sons elawe, Wyll'm Constable, his broder, Syr Robert Constable, Marmaduke Constable, Wyll'm Constable, his sones, and Syr John Constable of Holderness, with dyuerse his kynnesmen, allies, and other gentylmen of Yorkeshyre and Northumberlande.

"¶ In the breste of batayle of the sayde rerewarde was vM. men with my saide Lorde of Surrey; and vnder capitaynes of the same was the Lord Scrope of Bolton, Syr Philype Cyney, broder elawe to my sayd Lord of Surrey, George Darcy, sone and heyre to the Lord Darcy, sayde beynge capitayne of the firste batalye of the scottes fyersly dyd sette upon master Edmonde Howarde, capitayne of the vttermoste parte of the felde at the west syde. And betwene them was so cruell batayle that many of our parte, Chesshyre men and other, dyd flee. And the sayd mayster Edmonde, in maner lefte alone, without socoure, and his standerde and berer of the same beten and hewed in peces, and hymsel thryse stryken downe to the grou'd, howbeit, lyke a couragyous and an hardy yonge lusty gentylman, he

recoucred agayne, and faught hande to ha'de with one Sir Dauy Home, and slewe hym with his owne handes. And thus the sayde masyter Edmonde was in great perell and daunger, tyll that the Lorde Dacre, lyke a good and an hardy knyght, releued and came vnto hym for his socoure.

"¶ The seconde batayle came vpon my Lorde Howarde. The thirde batalye, wherin was the Kynge of Scottes and moste parte of the noble men of his reame came fyersly vpon my sayd Lorde of Surrey. Whiche two bataylles, by the helpe of Elmyghty God, were, after a great confydelyete, venquysshed, ouercomen, betten downe, and put to flyght; and fewe of them escaped with their lyues. Syr Edwarde Stanley beynge at the vttermoste parte of the sayde rere-warde, onhes partie seynge the fourthe batayle redy to releue the said Kynge of Scottes batayle, couragyously, and lyke a lusty and a hardy knyght dyd sette upon the same, and ouercame and put to flyght all the Scottes in the sayd batayle. And thus, by the grace, socour, and helpe of Almyghty God, victory was gyuen to the reame of England; and all the Scottysshe ordendn'ce wonne and brought to Ettell and Barwykein surelie.

"¶ Hereafter ensueth the names of sundry noblemen of the Scottes slayne at the sayde batayle and felde called Brainston's moore.

Firste y[e] Kyng of Scotoes.	Therle of Lencar.
The Archebysshop of Seynt Androwes.	Therle of Castelles.
The Bysshop of Thyles.	Therle of Bothwell.
The Bysshop of Ketnes.	Therle Arell, constable.
The Abbot Y'nchaffrey.	Lorde Lowett.
The Abbot of Kylwenny.	Lorde Forboos.
Therle of Mountroose.	Lorde Elweston.'
Therle of Crafordc.	Lord Inderby.
Therle of Argyle.	Lorde Maxwell.
Therle of Lennox.	Mac Keyn'.
	Mac Cleen'.

John' of Graunte.	Lord Dawisfie.
The maist: of Agwis,	Sir Alexander Scotlon'.
Lorde Roos.	Sire John Home.
Lorde Tempyll.	Lorde Coluin.
Lorde Borthyke.	Sir Dauy Home.
Lorde Askyll.	Cuthbert Home of Fascastell.

" Over and aboue the seyd p'sones there at slayne of the Scottes, vewd by my Lord Dacre, the noumbre of xi. or xii. thousande mend. And of Englysshme' slayne and taken prysoners vpon xii.c dyuers prysoners are taken of y[e] Scottes, but noo notable person saue oonly Syr Wyllm' Scotte, knyght, councellor of the sayde Kynge of Scottes, and, as is sayd, a gentylma' well learned; also S'r John' Forma', knyght, broder to the Bysshop of Murrey; which bysshop, as is reported, was, and is, most pryncypal procurour of this warre; and one other, called S'r John' Colehone. Many other Scottysshe prysoners coude and myght haue been taken, but they were soo vengeable and cruell in their fyghtyngy, that whenno Englysshmen had the better of them they wolde nat saue them, though it so were that dyuerse Scottes offered great su'mes of money for theyr lyues.

" ¶ It is to be noted, that the felde beganne betwene iiij. and v. at after noone, and contynued within nyght. If it had fortuned to haue ben further afore nyght many mo scottes had ben slayne and taken prysoners. Louynge be to Almyghty God, all the noble men of Englande that were vpon the same felde, both lordes and knyghtes, are safe from any hurte. And none of theym awantynge saue oonly maister Harry Gray, syr Huinfeide Lyle, both prysoners in Scotlande, Syr John' Gower, of Yorkeshyre, and syr John' Boothe, of Lancasshyre, both wantynge, and as yet nat founden.

" ¶ In this batayle the scottes hadde many great auauntagies; that is to wytte the hyghe hylles and mountaynes, a

great wynde with them, and sodayne rayne, all contrary to our bowes and archers.

"¶ It is nat to be doubted but the scottes fought manly, and were determyned outher to wynne ye felde or to dye. They were also as well apoynted as was possyble, at all poynts, with armoure and harneys, so that fewe of them were slayne with arrowes. Howbeit the bylles dyd bete and hewe them down with some payne and daunger to englysshe-men.

"The sayd scottes were so playnely determyned to abyde batayle, and nat to flee, that they put from them theyr horses, and also put of theyr bo'tes and shoes, and faught in the vampis of theyr hooses, every man for the moost p'tie, with a kene and sharpe spere of v yerdes longe, and a target afore hym. And when theyr speres fayled and were all spent, then they faught with great and sharpe swerdes, makynge lytell or no noys withoue that, that for p'tie many of them wolde desyre to be saued.

"¶ The felde where ye scottes dyd lodge was nat to be reprouyed, but rather to be co'mended greatly, for there many and great nombre of goodily tenttes, and moche good stuffe in the same; and in the sayd felde was plentie of wyne, bere, ale, beif, mutton, salfysshe, and other vytalles, necessary and conuenyent for suche a great army; albeit our armye, doutynge that the sayd vytalles hadde ben poysoned for their distruccyon, wolde nat saue, but vtterly distroyed them.

"¶ Hereafter ensueth the names of suche noble men as, after the felde, were made kynght, for theyr valyau'ce act, in the same by my sayd lord therle of Surrey.

"¶ Firste, my Lord Scrope, of Upsall.
Sir Will'm Percy.
Sir Edmonde Howarde.
Sir George Darcy.
Sir John Hoothome.
Sir Nicholas Appleyarde.
Sir Edwarde George.
Sir Rauf Ellercar ye yo'ger.
Sir John Wyliyby.

Sir W. Gascoygne y$_e$ yo'ger.
Sir Will'm Medlton'.
Sir Will'm Maleuerdy.
Sir Thomas Bartley.
Sir Marmaduke Costable y^e yo'ger.
Sir X'p'ofer Dacre
Sir Raffe Bowes.
Sir Briane Stapelton', of Wyghall.
Sir Guy Dawny.
Sir Raffe Salwayne.
Sir Richard Malleurey.
Sir Will'm Constable, of Hatefeld.
Sir Will'm Constable, of Larethorpe.
Sir X'p'ofer Danby.
Sir Thomas Burght.
Sir Edwarde Echingh'me.
Sir Edward Musgrau.
Sir John' Stanley.
Sir Walter Stonner.
Sir Wyuiane Martynfelde.
Sir Will'm Rous.
Sir Thomas Newton.'
Sir Roger of Fenwyke.
Sir Roger Gray.
Sir Thomas Connyers.
My Lord Ogle.
Sir Thomas Strangewase.
Sir Henri Thiuaittes.
My Lorde Lumley.
Sir X'p'ofer Pekeryngc
Sir John Bulmer.
"¶ Emprynted by me, Richarde Faques, dwllyng in Paulys churche-yerde."

Charles V. to Cardinal Wolsey.

"Mons$^{r.}$ le cardinal mon bon amy, j'ay receu vos l'res du 5 de ce mois, par les quelles et ce que mes ambasseurs mon escript de v're part j'ay entendu v're bon conseil la bonne . . . . . . soing et extimacion que pourtez de l'honneur et scheurte de ma personne, ensemble la bonne affection et inclinacion, que vous avez touchant les traité et indissoluble conjunction d'entre le roy, mon bon oncle, et moy, dont je vous remercie cordiallement.

"Et pour vous dire princēment ma resolution com'e cellui que je tiens pour mon bon et loyal amy et en qui j'ay ma . . . comme povez bien clerement à parceuvir, je vous advertis fra'chement que je suis delibere de moyennant l'ayde de Dieu fa' et executé ceque j'ay entreprise, et mesment d'y

aller en ma personne, car je ne puis laisser ny differtz pour mon bien et honneux dainte le faire, et combien que je tiens tres bons et . . . . fort tout ce que . . . serv'ce propos et congruon que bon procede de bonne affection toutefois quand nous aurons parler ensemble, et que aurez euy et entendu mes raisons de ne faire . . . . que serez de mon advis et demeurrons bien co'te l'ung de l'lautre.

" Et pource comme j'aurex j'ay toujours . . . et preferee l'alliance et . . . confedertion du roy mon bon oncle sur toute lautres et fait encoures ainsi que pauvez bien clerement cognog, d'autant que toutes choses sont si avant approucheis, tant de v're part que de la myene, et à cet effect pour y prendre meilleur et plus segeure conclusion, vous m'avex toujours fait dire, que me voulez advertiz, d' la part du dit pr roy mon bon oncle, d'aucune choses que . . . . . homme . . . . . doit savoir n'y entendre que luy, vous et moy ; lesquelles choses je ne faire doubte sont de si grande importance, que . . . pourra etre l'ung des principaules point du fondement de noz affaires ; et aussi, de mon couste, je vous ay fait dire que je suis delibere, pour la grande confidance que j'ay en vous, de semblablement vous declarer tout le fons de moy cœur, aussi avant que je feroje à la propre personne don sa roy mon oncle, et je me toujours ferme à mon propos et ces causes à qu'il est impossible de sçavoir bien traiter vraiement ni serieusement des matieres que vous scavoir, sans premierement envers desmelle et desconnæst l'ung à l'autre toutes ses grosses matieres. Je demeure aussi en ma resolution, que j'ay toujours desire, c'est de conclure avec vous moy mesmes, et user entierement de v're bon avis et conseil, et faire cela je feusse desiré en mon arme, à ces causes, et que vous cognoissoit le grande dommage que ce mest, de tant retarder mes aff'res, lesquelles sont telz que ne me peuient souffrir plus grande dillacion, et sous les choses si tres avant que je ne puis ni vouldroyt reculler de ce que j'ay entreprens, je vous prie sur tous les plaisers que une

vouldreiz fer que vueillez avoir bon regard à ce que dessus. Et pour y prendre la totale co'clusion, vous vouloir trouver à Bruges dymanche prochain, jusques auquel jours je vous y actendray combien que ce me soit grosse retarducien et me ne laisse jamais pense si longue, car, sant point de fauéte, il me feroit ung dommange irreparable passer les jour ny setendre plus avant ce que je suis . . . . . . ne vauldriz point, et si me voulez . . . . comme bien li pouves fa . . , et espert que ferez je ne faire mille doubte que vous et mois aurant fait en deux ou trois jours au plus tard, car nous feront plus en ung jour vous et moy ensemblée, que ne feroient mes ambassadeurs en ung mois, ostant qu'il ne fauldra renvoyer de l'ung â l'autre, que feroit une grande perdicion de temps, et aussi que par vos ex'es mes . . . que les fa roy mon bon oncle et vous, estes delibere de besoignez et conclure franchement avec moy, ce que je suis au semblable en bon vauloir fa', de ma part, comme le cognoissez par effet, si à vous ne tient, à ceste cause vous prie me faire ce plesir de . . . de v're bonne intencion le plutot que pourry car si ne voulez venir au dit jour, et que de ferer me venir truver plus loing comme en mon camp je vous montreray mon armée par laquelle cognoisstry que n'ay vouloir de dormir à l'ayde de Dieu et de mes dons amis, et me ferez le bien venu, comme plus au long je script à mes ambassadeurs pour le vous dire de ma part ensemble de mes nouvelles pour ce que à vous comme à mon bon ami j'entends ou nentement decl'er et communiquer tous mes affres et accla je continueray de bien en mieux, si plait à Dieu, auquel je prie, mons'r le cardinal mon mon ami, que vous ait en sa garde. Escript à Escloz les Bruges le d'Aoust 1521.

"V're bon ami,

"CHARLES."

BOOK THIRD.

" *Margaret Quene of Scotts Letter to my Lord Cardinal.*

" My Lord Cardinal, I comende me hartely unto you, and I have receyved yo^{r} wtying, w^{t} the articles subscribed w^{t} your hand; whereunto I have made answer at length, in al poynts; and therfore I wil not be long to you in this w'tyng; but I pray you hartely, my lord, to consider wel the answere of yo^{r} said articles; and not to take so grete regard as ye do by your w'tyng to my Lord of Angwisshe; which and ye do will put grete trouble in this realme, and hable to put the king my sonne in his enemyes hands; wherfor, seying that I and my partakers have put the king my sonne out of the dangier that he was in, I thinke it should be wel considered, and in such a sorte that Th'erle of Angwysh shulde not be sent in this realme, and specially by the king's grace my brother, which must be o^{r} defendor and helper, and shulde geve occasion to noblemen to take the kynge my sonnes p'te and mine, beleving that therthrowe to wynne his grac's favor, and wil cause them to be the better myndede unto the kyng my sonne and me; and gif his grace will sende me Therle of Angwishe, that is contrary p'te to Therle of Arreyn, it will be occasion to hym to leve the good p'te that he hath reped, and to labor otherways for hymselfe, and all his friends, in danger of their lyves, for the weale of the kinge my sonne, and me. And if this shuld not be loked upon, before the pleasure of Th'erle of Anguishe, that did nev' stik stede and . . . . . to the king my soone, nor may not do, suppose ye, my lord, by other wayes,

I informed and geves trust to the same, as the articles berith at length, not the lesse, my lord, I pray you, as my grete trust is in you, that ye wil labor in that sorte for me, that I and my partakers may be in a surety, that Th'erle of Angwishe shall not come in Scotland, as at more length th' articles berys, and that with diligence I may be advertised of the king's grace my brother's pleasure; for while that I be in suretie of sike matiers as I have written, I trust the ambassadors shal not be sped, for my partakers thinkith that gif they labor for the pleasure of the king's grace my brother, that on his side he shuld shewe kyndnes to theym afore any Scottishman, after the king my sonne. Praying you, therfore, my lorde, to gyve good counsaile to the king's grace my brother, and to let me have answer incontinentlie, for the furtherying of all matiers, and God have you in his kepying. Written the 6th day of October, at Edynburgh.

" *The Copie of my Lord Cardinall's L'res, sent to the Lord Dacre of the Northe.*

" After right affectuous recommendations, my lorde, though I have receyved no l'res from you sens myne arryvall on this side the see; ne yet, as I am informed, ye have not advertised the kyng's highnes eyther of the state of his bord'os of the demeann' of the Scotts, sens my departying oute or of England; yet the king's highnes hath now of late signified unto me, that credible reaporte is made unto hym howe the Scotts have not onely made dyv'se & many exc'sis in North'mb'land, by brennyng certeyn villagis, takyng sundry p'soners, and dryvyng away moche cattell and shipe, but also that great preparacion is made in Scotland for the comyng of the Duke of Albany thider; and rememberyng yo^r^ olde accustumable proudent demeano^r^ as well in the atteyning assuird knowledge of the intended purpose of the Scotts, from tyme to tyme, by such good esp'iell and intelli-

gence that ye have had amongs the said Scotts, as of the bruits and newes occ'rant amongs theym, it is the more mervailed, that if eyther any such attemptats have been made by the said Scotts upon the king's subjects, or that any such bruits be in Scotland of the said duke's thider comyng, that ye have not advertised the king's highnes or me therof before this tyme; wherfor I thought ryght expedient, not onely to put you in remembraunce therof, so that ye may w^{t} all diligence advertise me howe every thing hath proceeded there duryng myne absence out of the realme; to the intent I may at my comyng to the king's presence, which, God willing, I shal be w^{t} in brief tyme, ascertayne his highnes therin, wherof to here his grace is moche desirous, but also to notifie unto you what I have herde of the transportyng of the said Duke of Albany into Scotland; w^{t} myne advise & counsaile what is expedient and necessary to do, upon the same; trowthe it is that credible reaporte hath been made unto me nowe of late, that the said duke is not onely passed, or shall shortely passe oute of Fraunce into Scotland, w^{t} the nombre of two or thre thousand men of warre, but also hath made great & instant labo^{r} in the courte of Rome, for a divorce to be had and made for seperacion of the mariage betwixt the Quene of Scotts and Therle of Anguisshe, intendyng to marye w^{t} the said quene, wherunto it is said she is agreable, and that the same duke intendeth to aspir' to the crowne of Scotlande; whiche he cannot atteyne unlesse he destroye the yong king, and if th' p'misses be of trouth, as by many co'jectures it is in great apparence, right necessary it is, that ye not only make diligent espiell in Scotland, for assurd knowledge to be had of the p'misses, but also notific the same to Therle of Anguisshe, the Humes, and such others as by the comyng of the said duke into Scotland shal be put in danger of their lyves and lands, so that they may make their p'tie good and puissant to stoppe and lette the damnable & abhominable purpose of the said duke. It is

verely thought, that in case the said detestible intente & mynde of the said duke were published in Scotland it shulde provoke the nobles & comons agenste hym, wherby he mought be put in danger at his first comyng; and to the intent the said bruite may be made in Scotland upon true grounds, I ascerteyne you for a trouth, that the French kyng nowe of late shewd unto Th'erle of Worćest'r, the kyng's chamburlayn, and the Bishop of Ely, that the said duke not only intendeth, in coverte man' to passe into Scotland, but also hath labored to purchase the said divorce for mareing the quene, suspectyng therby the danger of the said yong kyng. And albeit the said duke could not departe oute of Fraunce w^t oute the p'mission & sufferance of the French kyng, yet it is in appearance that he dissemblith ther'in. I am also adv'tised, by the kyng's orato^r, from the courte of Rome, that the same divorce is instantly pursued by the Duke of Albany ther—in consideration wherof ye have good and probable grounds to instructe as well the said Erle of Anguisshe as the Homes, and other nobles of Scotland, suche as ye shall think good, that this is the onely purpose of the same duke's comying into Scotland. And that he bringeth his men of warre with hym, not for the defence of that land, but only to destroy the said erle, and other nobles, that wollde resist and lette hym in th'achyvying of this his damnable mynde & enterp'se, whiche he knoweth well can nev' be brought to passe, onlesse the said erle and his adherents be subduyed. Wherfor ye may p'suade unto the said erle, the Homes, and others, that if they tender the salvegard of their p'nce, if they love their lyves, lands, & succession, they must w^t all diligence possible, like valiant and noble men, put themselves in readynes, w^t all their friends strength and puissance, to p'serve theymself & subdue their mortal enemye; for surely, if they loke not substancially therunto, both the yong kyng, they, and all the nobilitie of Scotland, shal be in greate danger. And ye may say, that, inasmoche as the Kyng of Scotts, beyng the kyng's nevewe, shall by

suche practises peryshe, and his sister the queen be dishonored and lost therby for ever, ye doubte not but his highnes in this their laudable and vertuous querell woll favo^{r}, aide, and assiste them, encouragyng theym w^{t} such good words, vehement bruits, & co'fortable p'suasion, to stire and excite, not onely theym, but also the nobles and comons of Scotland, ageynst the said duke, wherby either he shal be in danger at his comyng to Scotland, or els be exterminate from thens for ev'. And if the some of x or xii M marks were politiquely spent, to set this division in Scotland, and to provoke the indignation of the nobles and subjects agenst the said duke, in myne opynion it shulde be well emploied, consideryng the greate effects and good consequent that therof may ensue, wherby greate somes of money may therby be saved, as ye wel know: the p'misses considered, I right hartely desire & pray you, after your accustomable prudent & politique man', not onely to set furth theis practises w^{t} all spedie diligence, but also to adv'tise me w^{t} semblable diligence what ye shall and may do therein, wherby ye do m'vailous greate pleasure and s'vice to the kyng's highness, moch redoundyng to his hono^{r} and the suretie of his realme, assuryng you, that whatsoever ye shall promyse, lay oute, or coven'nte w^{t} the said nobles, kepying yo^{r}self w^{t}in the bonds of the said somes, till ye may adv'tise me of your said further advise, it shalbe surely contented and paid unto you, requirying you to do effectual diligence therein."

Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, to Cardinal Wolsey.

From the Cottonian Library, Caligula, B. VI., No 147. Orthography altered to modern Scotch by J. G.

[I publish this spirited letter of a celebrated poet, in contrast with the base applications of other Scotchmen.]

" Please your Grace, my chaplain, whilk was yesterday at your presence, shews me, that Galt, the secretary of the

duke of Albany, has said to your grace, that I promist not to come within this realm; and wherefore, of his master's behalf, beseacht your grace to withhold me herein, and let me pass no farther. My lord, I believe your high wisdom will not give credence so lightly against me; and specialie to the Duke of Albany, or any of his servands, whilk is capital and deadly enemy to me and all my house. And, therefore, it is no wonder albeit he say sik things for my harm, whilk divers times, and yet daily, hath said and done all that he may or can imagine to my destruction, and extermination of all my kin. And, as I shall answer to God and your grace, the contrare of it he said, is plain writ; for, both by messenger and writin, I declarit how plainlie I would pass though this realm, and no other way; and gart shew him what day I had appointed to enter in your ground of England; the whilk I kept trulie. And this your grace may consider what favour he has to me, or how I should be entreated, if I was in Scotland, under his subjection; or when, if I past to France, or any other part where he may solicit any thing, when he is so bold within this realm (wherein I trust he has little credence), as for to solicit your grace to my hurt. Albeit you have grantit me, the king's highness, safe conduct, the which, I trust, I shall not forfeit, nor yet your grace will suffer to be taken from me. Beside this the matter is precious, if any kirkman should be stoppet gangand to Rome, for his lawful defence on summon thither, as, nevertheless, your grace knows full well, I may be lightly entretit to remain here, but no ways at his command nor desire; and full well I wat your high wisdom *knows* what is to be done on any service to sik a pretention mickle better nor I, and many sik, can imagine. Albeit, if it might stand with your pleasure, I would bespeak your grace to answer to this Galt; that, if the duke, his master, will be content my action and matter be remetit forth from Rome to your grace, and before your arbitration, whereof I would be glad, your grace should cause me remain? and al-

so, why or how should you hold me frae my lawful defence, whilk is of the law of nature; specialie I having the king's safe conduct to pass, as said is? This is my little case, under correction of your grace, whom I beseach to pardon this my so homely writing; and the Holy Trinitie have your grace in lessit and . . . . keeping. At London, this new year's day, subcrevit with the hand of

"Your humble beedsman,

"GAWN OF DUNKELD."

T. Magnus to Cardinal Wolsey, on Scottish Affairs.

"Pleas it your grace to be adv'tissed, that by my letter of the secunde daye of this moneth, I ascertayned your saide grace of suche ymmynent daungers, troubles, and gret variaunces, as were right nigh at hand, betwene the quenes grace here, and other the lordes; that is, to wite, tharchbisshop of Saint Andrewes, the bisshop of Aburdyne, w[t] sondery other bisshps, therles of Anguysshe, Argile, Leneux, and many other erles and barrons of this realme, as by the copies of thair l'res, and of thair proclamacons, I doubte not at large it did appere. Soe it was, as thenne I wroote unto your said grace, the saide lordes, assembled and convened at Sterling, on Monday the xj[th] daye of this saide moneth, betwene whoom and the quenes saide grace many messags have paste for the pacifying of the variaunces and debates betwene thaym concernyng the preservacon of the yong king here in his good health, educacon, and good gov'ance, in this his tendre age, the rule and ordering of this his realme, w[t] due admynistracon of justice, a directe orde[r] to be had for the bringing ynn of the revenues of his possessions, for the maynten'nce of his estate and dignitye royall, and for a good peas, to be had betwene Englande and Scotlande. And, for so myche as the saide lordes suppoosed by thair l'res directe to the quenes grace, it was right paynfull and troublous to send from tyme to tyme soe farr as betwene Edinburgh and

and Sterling; thay therfore, and for the moore comodyte of the causes in controversy, repared to a toune called Dalkeeth, w^t^ynne onn myles of this toune, upon Thursday laste.

" And, for the debating and repressing of the attemptats com'itte by the said lordes, the quenes grace was mynded, and procured, that the therles of Arren, Murray, Eglington, and Cassilles, w^t^ other lordes, reparing hider for the kinggs surety, shulde give bataill to the other lordes and party. Howe be it, upon counsaille and advice taken by thaym, they made aunswer to the quenes saide grace, they sawe noe cause why thay shulde soe doe, oonles the kinggs grace here shuld goe furthe in his onne p'son, and that any his subjects wolde invade his said grace as if a foe were, than wold to the uttermooste of thair powers defend hym, as their soveraine lorde and maister, and elles thay wolde not in any wise attempte any thing ageinste the other party by hostilite of warre. The quenes grace, being mynded that the king her sonne shulde not passe from oute of her custody and keping, inaventure his grace shulde not retorne unto her ageine, wolde not agree to the requests and mynds of the saide lordes; but saide she was content that, for somyche as a grete part of this variaunce proceded betwene her grace and therle of Anguysshe, she was content therynne, and in other causes, to stande to the ord^r^ and arbitrement of the saide lordes, on the kinggs party and hers. Wherupon her grace sent for me, and, after myche comyunycacon, some parte pleasaunt, and some parte to the contrary, it was not possible she shulde be better mynded and inclyned thenne she was at that tyme, to accepte therle of Anguysshe to her gracious favo^r^, for the better relieff of her causes in controversy. Notw^t^standing, the morrowe after all was torned to the contrary, booth concernyng the promyse made to the saide lordes and the comynnycacon had betwene the quenes grace and me, as is afore saide, w^t^ suche maner and wordes as I

think not convenient to be written; and, as the case requir-ed, I gave but convenient hearring to the same.

"And, because these matiers were of gret ymportaunce, diverse and sondery tymes I offered, that my lorde of Cassilles and I mought have goon to have spoken wt the lordes of the other party, for the better pacefying of all causes, and spe'al-ly the quenes grace wolde not I shulde goe, though therles of Arren and Cassilles on her party, and thoder lordes on the other party, required the same.

"These causes and matiers thus depending in controversy, w'oute order for reducing of thaym to any good conclusion, it was devised and agreed, Cassilles, the bishop of Rosse, and the lorde Maxwell, should mete wt tharchbisshop of Saint Andrewes, the bisshop of Aburdyne, therle of Argile, and the other lordes of the other party and their counsaill, as, sr Willm Scott and other, at Dalkeeth aforesaide, on Sa-turdaye laste; and soe thay did, and accorded right well to-gader. Howe be it, whenne the quenes party came hoome her grace woolde not agre to the comynnycacon, and suche ordor as was devised betwene the lordes.

"On Sondaye next after newe messingers on the quenes party were sent to the saide lordes, to moove unto thaym, that her grace was content thay shuld repaire and come hider, to trete, speke, and com'yn of the causes in contro-versy, soe that thay wolde agre and consent that noe thing shulde be doon to the demynuicon of her autorite, graunted unto her grace in the laste p'liament, or elles that thay wolde consent and agree, that, where as the saide p'liament was proroged and contynued to the xxth day of this moneth, hit shulde clerely for this tyme be dissolved, cessate, and an-nulled. Whereunto the saide lordes, considering ther ar sondery thinggs besides the quenes saide autorite, concern-yng the weall and surety of the yong king, and of this his realme, to be refourmed, aunsuer also to be retourned to thair ambassrs in Englande, by the consent of the gret and

mooste discrete counsaillour of this realme, wolde not accoorde nor agre in anywise. Wherupon, th'erles of Arren, Murray, Eglynton, and Cassilles, the lorde Maxwell, Dan Carre of Cesforth, and Marke Carre, conveyed thair s'unts from thaym, and went into the castell to the king and the quene; every of thaym taking w[t] thaym oon or twoe s'unts at the mooste, and ther contynue.

"The officers of this toune, w[t] the inhabitants of the same, sent woorde to the lordes, that thay shulde come hider and be welco'm unto, and furthwith sette thair yets open, being afore barred and nightly kept w[t] watche and warde. And soone after mydnight therle of Angusshe and the erle of Leneux came into this toune, w[t] vi or vij hondreth men, all at thair pleasurs, and soe did take thair lodgings, and went to thair rests. The residue of thair men, as is saide to the noumber of twoe thousande, remaynned w[t] the bishops, erls, and other the lordes, at Dalkeeth; the same men being for the moost parte, as is reapöorted, landed men, men of good honesty, and householde men, well chosen and well horsed. Yesterdaye, ageinste night, the saide lordes, and other thair company afore saide, came hider, and logged themselves in this toune, and nigh therunto, as thay maye w[t]oute the daunger of gunne shotte from oute of the castell, and intende to kepe the p'liament for the weall of the yong king and of this his realme; and, as farre as in anywise I canne conceive, for a peas to be betwene Englande and Scotlande; wherof I assure your grace I see moore apperaunce hider towarde thenne of the quenes party, conscidering in my poor mynde her counsallo[r] to be moor of the ffrensh facc'on thenne thay be to the favor of Englande; and yet a gret parte of the quenes counsaill be moor inclyned to Englande thenne to Fraunce.

"The quenes grace of late hath been myche desirous to a devorce and dep'ting to be had betwene her saide grace and therle of Anguysshe, and hath made many meanes for the

same purpoose, insomyche that right lately her grace being content to have famylier comynnycacon w^{t} me, shewed she wolde be content to geve to the sede erle, of her landes * * m'rks scottishe yerely, to suche tyme as her grace shulde advaunce some oon of his frends to * * marks of spec'al promoc'on, soe that there shulde be noe further intermeddling betwene thaym, but the oon to be discharged of the other; yet, nevertheles, the quenes grace even now maketh secret moc'ons, after a better and more godly manner, to the saide erle, wherunto I am moost privea, I pray God her grace wolbe of good p'severaunce, and thenne I woll not doubte but other thinggs shall myche the better come to the kinggs high purpoos and yours.

"Within iiij or v dayes moore, certaine knowledge wolbe had to what effecte this trouble and busynes woll ensewe, and furthwith I shall advertise your grace of the same, by the help of Almighty God, who evermoore have yo^{r} saide grace in his mooste blessed preservac'on. At Edinburgh, the xviijth daye of February.

"Your mooste homble prieste and bedeman,

"T. MAGNUS."

[This letter furnishes a favourable specimen of the force and affluence of the Cardinal's style, the comprehension of his mind, the justness of his ideas, and the vigour of his intentions. J. G.]

From Cardinal Wolsey to the King's Ambassadors with the Emperor.

"Mr Sampson and Mr Jermyngham, I commend me unto you in my most right hearty manner. Since the arrival here of Mr Boleyn, by whom the kings grace hath been advertised of the state wherein the emperor's matters and affaires stood as his departing, is also come hither Mons^{r} de Beawrayn, sent by the sayd emperor with letters to the kings

grace and me, and also with two instructions; one concerning such matters as he had to be spoken of here, and the other touching certain benefices to be by him done with the duke of G * * a * * e; the effect of both which instructions were taken out and translated into English, and the abstracts of the same, for your better knowledge and understandg, I send unto you herewith. I receyved also, by the sayd Beawrayn, the letters of you, Mr Sampson, to me directed, the effect whereof I shewed unto the kings grace, who, as well for your diligent writings at that time, as for other your former advertisements, giveth unto you speciall thanks, like as I do the semblable, for my parte. And for as much as, by the sayd two abstracts, yee shall amply and fully understand the charge which was co'mitted to Mons[r] de Beawrayn by the two instructions,* I shall, therefore, refer you thereunto for your knowledge in that behalfe, advertising you that, inasmuch as the sayd Beawrayn might not we would make any manner abode here, saying that he must be with the sayd duke, at the place prefixed, by the latter end of this monthe; a memorial, therefore, was given unto him, of certain things which he should doe there on the kings behalfe, till such season as doctor Knight, being ambassiate with the lady Margarett, and, consequently, well on his way, might with co'mission and instruction, sent unto him in diligence, repaire also to the same place, there to be present at the diett and treaty with the sayd duke for the kings parte; which co'mission and instruction, incontinently after the departure of the said Mons[r] de Beawrayn, were made and sent unto D[r] Knight; the copy whereof, and also of the memorial, in Latyne, given to Beawrayn, yee shall receive at this time, soe that, by all the sayd copies, yee shall know and understande the whole processe of every thing which

* See the instructions from the king.

hath been devised, concluded, and done by the kings grace and his counsaile in this behalfe, and how ready and inclined his highness is to every such thing as may sound to the furtherance, benefit, and advancement[t] of the co'mon enterprises and affaires. And, in case either the sayd Mons[r] de Beawrayn, or the emperors ambass[r] here resident, had had any co'mission or instruction to have treated and concluded with the kings grace, upon the nombers, place, tyme, and other cpecialties concerning the advancement of armies, on either side against Ffrance, this summer, and for the putting over of the p'sonall invasion, the same had also been fully concluded and agreed; nevertheless, all possible diligence is used here for preparation, and putting every thing in perfect readines, that shall be requisite for the army to be sent out of this realme into Ffrance, soe as, incontinently upon knowledge had from you that the emperor hath concluded a treaty for that purpose, and that yee se reall and effectuall execution of the same, and advancement forward on that side, the kings army, withoute tracte of tyme or delay, shall be in diligence transported, soe to proceede according to the convenc'ons and agreements which shall be passed by you in that behalfe. Wherefore, yee shall diligently procure and solicite th' emperor to accelerate his resolution therein, if it be not done already, as I trust verily it is before this tyme, and your letters, dispa'ched hitherwards, contayneing answere of the same, which, for the more suretie, yee may duplicate, soe as, for lack of knowledge from thence, if any misadventure should happen to your first letters, the king's grace should not remaine destitute and unprovided of answere touching the emperor's mynd in the p'misses, without which no fruitful thing, except preparation, can be done, either concerning invasion to be made this yeare, as is aforesayd, neither also th' effectual execution of the treaty to be passed with the sayd duke. And what the kings grace hath resolved and done touching the charge of Beawrayn, yee be-

ing now sufficiently instructed by the said copies, shall, with the kings most cordiall and my most humble reco'mendac'ons, shew and declare unto th' emperor, with such doubtful points as concerne de la Moer, and other suspicions which might arise in this matter, as the thing which, though it be not very apparent, yet the kings grace, who tendreth th' emperor's honor and weale as much as his owne, would not p'termitt to advertise his majesty of any matter that might be doubtful and dangerous unto his affaires.

* "Over this, yee shall shew unto the emperor that, upon safe conduct desired by the king of Denmark, and to him graunted, he, with the quene his wife, and 100 persons in their company, be lately aryved here; when the kings grace, as well for the honor of his highnes, and of this his realme, as for the allyance which is with the sayd king, by reason of the queene his wife, hath, for th' emperors and her love and honor, more than for any demonstrac'on of kindness heretofore shewed by the king of Denmark towards the kings grace and this realme, hath receyved and entertayned, in the best manner, at the kings charges and expences, from their arryval at Calays forward; since whose coming to the kings presence at Greenwiche, where they were for a season lodged and feasted, and also since their coming to London, where they now be, at Bathes place, all at the kings cost, as aforesaid, I have, on the kings behalfe, had sundry occas'ons with the sayd king of Denmark, upon the cause and occasion of his coming hither, perceiving, in effect, by him, that the crowne of the realme of Denmark is not descended unto him by rightfull succession of inheritance, but by elecc'on, as it hath alwayes been accustomed, † the prerogative and juris-

* The following contains the opinion of the Cardinal and the English government on one of the most remarkable incidents of the age of Henry VIII.

† The constitution of Denmark.

diction of which elecc'on resteth in certain speciall persons of the same realme, who, at the request of the late king of Denmark, father to this man, passed th' elecc'on of him, in his fathers dayes, to succede in the sayd kingdom after his tyme, with certaine conditions, whereunto they astringed and bound him, for the nonobservance and violation, it should be lawful to the samé elisors to departe from his obeysance: which elecc'on so passed, having, the late old king of Denmark, at that time another son, and being, this king, at the time of his said elecc'on, but of xij yeares of age, was, by the ffathers persuation, after the death of the sayd other sonne, ratified and confirmed.* Howbeit the sayd king affirmeth, that the condic'ons were more strange than had been accustomed to be used in other prinses dayes, whereunto he, in that mynority, was nevertheless obliged and bounden, and that, for such matters as the said elisors, with other his subjects, doe alleage against him, sounding to the rupture and breach, as they say, of the sayd condic'ons, albeit he was, and is contented, if he can be found defective in the same, to reforme and amend any thing by him passed; yet, neverthe-les, partly by counsaile of the Duke of Holston, and partly by the instigation of the Steds, enemies to the sayd king, the sayd elisors have abandoned him, and elected his uncle, the sayde duke of Holston, who, with the puissance of his adherents, soe proceeded against the said king, that, if he had not fledd with his wife and children, he and they should (as he sayeth) not only have been put in danger of their persons, but also he had lost his shipps, ordnance, goods, and substance, for which cause he withdrewe himselfe, first towards th' emperor's sayd Low Countries, and nowe into Englande, to require, demand, and aske of th' emperor, and the kings grace, as well help and assistance, as also advise and coun-

* The origin of the Danish revolution.

saile. And this is the very cause and manner of his repaire hither at this time. Whereupon the kings highnes, for the neere connection which the sayd king of Denmark hath with th' emperor by marriage of his sister, who is a princesse full of good vertues and manners, and whom the kings grace, as well for th' emperors sake as for her noble qualities, right much doth tender and regarde, hath at good length debated and devised upon this matter with me, and other of his counsaile, to whom it is thought right strange * that the king of Denmark (as he affirmeth) having divers other great patrymonies, countries, and places of his inheritance, and otherwise faithfull, sure, and true to him, who will at all tymes take his parte, ane receyve and obey him as their sovereign lord (the names of which countries and places be menc'oned in a bill here inclosed), would thus sodainly departe into remote and strange parts, whereby the more courage and boldnes might be given to his adversaries and enemies, both to persist in their displeasant mynds towards him, and also to provoke other of his loving subjects to their devot'on and partie: whereas, by his presence and ostentation of himselfe, they might percase with good pollicy and ayde of his loving subjects, have been the more facily vanquished and subdued, or, at the least, induced to have changed their purpose.

"For which cause, upon good deliberation, and often conversac'ons by me had with the sayd king of Denmarke, I have advised and counsailed him, in any wise to repaire again, with diligence, to such of the sayd countries and places remaining in his obeysance, as he shall think expedient, making his demore and continuance there, for procuring and labouring such things as may be most beneficial to the recovery of the good wills and mynds of the sayd elisors, lords, and subjects of Denmark, and the reconciliation of him unto his enemies. To the furtherance whereof, it is

* Very sensible conduct of England on this occasion. J. G.

thought that th' emperor, of good congruence and kindness, and the kings grace, for gratuity and love, shall put their hands by good mediac'on, sending ambassadors and letters, both unto the sayd elisors, duke of Holston, and other lords of Denmark, which may labour them to resume and take again their said kyng, who is contented not only to reforme all such things, if any be, as they thinke him to have done contrary to the sayd condic'ons, wherein the kings grace will take upon him and be bound as his suretie, that he should soe doe; but, also, will utterly remitt and forgive any displeasure or attempt which they or his subjects have enterprised, done, or com'itted against him in this his expulsion and new election. And, furthermore, meanes may be made to the said Steds, who have great priviledges and liberties in the emperors and kings regions, that at their contemplation, and for their sakes, they will cease from any hostility, war, or rancor, against the sayd king, and some amiable composition to be made in the differences depending between them. All which devise the kings grace will cause his ambassadors, resident at the court of Rome, to shew unto the pope's holyness, to th' intent that the same also may send his breves and writings, both to the sayd duke of Holsten, elisors, and other of Denmarke, and also to the Steds, for this purpose; with which ambass[r] expedient it shall be that th' emperors ambass[r] doe alsoe joine therein; soe that it is verily trusted that th' emperor putting his hands effectually hereunto, as of reason and kindnes he must needs doe, the proximity of bloud and faire succession descended betweene the said king and queene considered, this matter may yet be reduced and brought, with labor, help, and pollicy, into good trayne, and the sayd king, with Gods grace, by loving and faire meanes, restored to his kingdome, without further violence, warr, or effusion of bloud, which waye is meete and expedient to be first attempted, and noe further hostilitie to be raised or stirred, in 'xpendure, if it be possible. Nevertheless, if the

same shall in no wise doe profitt or availe unto him, but that the Danes and Steds shall remaine obstinate and in p'nacity, without conforming themselves to good order and reason, then further direction may be taken, for assistance to be given unto the sayd king, as wel by the kings grace and th' emperor, as by such other princes of Almayne, and elsewhere, as be his confederates, lovers, and freends. Wherefore yee, shewing and declaring the p'misses, shall procure and solicite depeche of such p'sonages and writings as he will send for this purpose, which command'ment to be given to his orator at Rome, to joine with the kings ambassador, as is aforesayd; in which meane time as much shall be done by the kings grace as may be possible, for it is a thing farr discrepant from good order, reason, or congruence, that a prince shall thus, by the wilfulness of his lords and commons, be expelled and put from his crowne, upon any grievances by them pretended, specially not being the matters first shewed and objected unto him, and his answere heard upon the same; ascertayning you that the sayd king, accepting marvailous thankfully, and in good parte, this good advice and counsaile, the circumstances whereof I have caused to be put in articles in Latine, which he singularly liketh, is mynded, within four or five daies, to departe, with the queene his wife, towards Flanders, where his shippes be in rigging, soe to proceede further according to the sayd device; praying you, therefore, to ascertayne me of the emperors answere and resolution herein, and in all other the p'misses, with diligence, as the kings special trust is in you.

" *Post scripta.*—Letters be arrived, as well from the bishop of Bathe, being the kings ambassador at Rome, dated there the third day of the last moneth, as also from Mr Pace, dated at Venice the first day of the same, the copies of which letters, for your better knowledge and information, I send you with these presents; by tenor whereof you shall among other things, perceive, how, upon the attachment of

the cardinall Sodormo, the Ffrench king hath revoked his ambassadors, which were on their way towards the popes holiness, and that in the court of Rome is neither com'ission nor person deputed for the sayd Ffrench king, to treate either of peace or truce; soe as there is noe manner likelihood, apparence, or towardness, that any thing may or shall, at this time, be further done therein, or that the emperor and the kings grace shall ground or establish their com'on matters thereupon, but substantially to foresee and provide for all such things as may concerne the most effectual anoyance of the com'on enemie. Ye shall further p'ceive by the sayd copies, that expectation is to be had of the pope's holynes, who in noe wise will be induced to condiscend unto any treatie offensive against France, respiting also upon the successes of the affaires at Venice, to declare and shew his resolute mynde, touching his entering into a league defensive, which wil be the most that he can be induced unto, and that not without difficultie; for which cause, expedient it shall be that the king and th' emperor, without further tract of time, doe with diligence furnish, provide, and look unto their busines, and in suchwise to presse the Ffrench king earnestly, and not with small prickings, which, as it appeareth, he doth little esteeme, that he may be constrained and enforced otherwise to himself, then hitherto he doth begin. In which matter ye shall declare and shew unto the emperor the kings opinion, consisting in two material points. The first and greatest thing considered by his grace and his counsaile is, that, rememb'ring th' untowardnes and obstynacie of the sayd Ffrench king, it is now thought expedient, by all the meanes and wayes possible, to accelerate the p'sonal invasion; and, for that purpose, to devise how in anywise it may be fesible, as well by forbearing and sparing other particular charges, which might sound to the delay and impeachment thereof, as otherwise; for better it shall be once to annoy the com'on enemy with great puissances, which he

should not be able to resist, whereby he may be driven to offer and come unto reasonable conditions, than thus, by dryving the time by little and little, to waste and consume treasure, and, in conclusion, no good effect to come thereof: wherefore, if th' emperor and king's grace might be furnished with money, treasure, and other requisites for a mayne and great invasion to be made in their owne p'sons, the sooner the same were done, and put in execution, the rather the com'on enemye should be brought and compelled to speak of another time, and percase some great and notable victory might thereof ensue, to their great honour and profits. Nevertheles, if, for lack of furniture of money and treasure, th' emperor and the kings grace should not inow doe the same in their owne p'sons, the next som'er in the yeare next following, by which time it shalbe seene what the Ffrench king will further doe touching peace; then, it is thought, a way might be taken for making of an expedition by lieut'ents, the same to invade in such places, taking the yeare before them, and with such fforce and puissance as some notable effect might ensue thereof, and th' enemy enforced to knowledge himselfe: the debating and devising of which matters, by com'on consent, might, in the residue of this summer and the next winter, be practised, com'enced, and concluded, soe that, at the beginning of the next yeare, the same might be executed accordingelie, which is thought a more discrete and prudent way, and better effect shall ensue thereof, then to defer th'enterprises till the som'er be almost spent, as hath bene this present yeare, and as they shall and may be furnished with money, on both sides, for the performance of the p'misses, either by invasion in p'son or by lieut'ents. Necessary shall it be that mutual frank and plain advertisement be made thereof, from time to time, to th' intent that every thing may procede to the honor of both princes, annoyance of the com'on enemy, and eschuing of superfluous and vaine expences as shall app'taine; for, by such dribb'ing

warr* as yet hitherto hath been made by the sayd princes, the com'on enemy is rather exalted, contemming, and little or nothing regarding them, then driven to knowledge himself, or come to honest conditions of truce and peace, desiring the continuance of warr in such manner rather than otherwise, supposing therby that the sayd princes shall be impoverished, and he little or nothing damaged or annoyed. And, in case th' emperor and the kings grace cannot be furnished neither to invade in their p'sons nor by their lieut'ents as above, wherein plainnes ought to be used, and all dissimulation or concealment layde aparte; then, by mutual counsaile, it must be devised, how and by what good meanes they may come to an honorable peace, for thus to stand and continue soe long in warr, without doing any notable damage to th' enemy, can neither be to their honor, nor endured by their realmes and subjects.

"The other matter which the kings grace and his counsaile have special respect unto, is this: yee know the full resolution of his grace touching such things as be to be done this yeare, for the answere whereof, and knowledg of th' emperors mynde in the same, his highnes looketh to be advertised with such diligence, that, giving one months respite after the tyme of the sayd answere, assemble and transport his army, the same may be entred into th' enemies countries by the middest of August at the furthest; for, as th' emperor may well consider, if, for lack of such knowledg in time, the whole month of August should, p'adventure, expire before the kings army might be in the field, rayny wether then, in September, daily running on, and the army intended to be sent unto Boleyn, as yee well know, it should not be possible either for the shortnes of time to doe any good there, or also, in that fowle and wet country, to convey back again the artillery and ordnance. Whereof, conse-

* Dribbling war!

quently, should ensue none other but wast and expenses of money, losse of the artillery, and great dishonor; for which cause the king's pleasure is, that yee, shewing th' p'misses to th' empr, doe substantially note, whether as well the armies to be prepared on that side may be advanced and entered into the Ffrench kings country before or by the middest of August at the farthest; as, also, that your advertisemt of the same may come in such time as the king's army, with the sayd one month's warning, may doe the semblable on this side: in which case the kings grace is and will be right well contented to follow and p'forme the device and coica'con had thereupon, for the execution whereof nothing, in the meane time, is here p'termitted. Neverthe-les, if either the emperors armyes cannot be soe soone ready in those parts, or that his resolution be not soe soon taken, sent, and here arrived, that, with the sayd one month's warning, the king's army, and the other assistance to be sent unto them out of th' emperors Low Countrys, may be ready in the field before middest of August, which is as much or more necessary to be done at that time hence, then on that side, the strength of the countrie, and the great ordnance requisite to be carried, considered. Then it is thought unto the king's grace and his counsaile, that better it were to leave and forbeare the sending of any such armies this su'mer, and to spare the money that should be spent in the same, for the sayd p'sonall invasion, then out of time to advance them, and with losse, reproaches, and damage, to return them. And, in the mean time, th' emperor and the king's grace, standing in meere termes of defence, and providing sufficiently, as well for furniture of their townes, fortresses, and places, as for guarding of the seas with some good and meete shippes, that is to say, th' emperor from the trade along the coast of Spaine, and the king from the trade hither, and soe to the coast of Flanders, and they to look there to the garding of the sayd quarters: sure they may that not

only their countries and subjects shall be well defended, and with small charges in comparison of the other, but also the comon enemy, in the mean season, the more wearied, fatigued, and impoverished; whereby, at the time of the sayd p'sonal invasion, they should be of the much better strengthe and habilitie to maynetayne themselves for a great space, which is requisite to be done if any fruite or good effect shall ensue thereof; and to begin in the later end of the yeare, when noe tarrying or abode may be to doe any effectual annoyance to th' enemy. And if p'case it might be thought, that this time were most opportune and convenient, by reason of the Duke of Hu—e—hc—, I doubt not but by the time that th' emperor and his counsaile shall have groundly pondered and noted the difficulties contayned before in these my present letters, which p'adventure before were not thought upon, it shall appear that there is not like to grow soe great benefit or com'odity thereof as was esteemed. I require you, therefore, circumspectly and discreetly, to handle this matter with the emperor, taking such direction, by your prudent demonstrations to be made unto him therein, that neither the time in making these sober warrs against the enemy be thus longer consumed, but that by th' advancement of the sayd p'sonall invasion, this next yeare he may be earnestly handled, as is aforesayd; nor also, that the enterprises to be done this som'er be soe lately by you there concluded, that for lack of knowledg in the time before limited, the king's grace be driven to advance his army, and people spend his money and time in vayne, and consequently noe good done, but rather reproache, losse, and damage to be sustayned. And of the emperor's resoluc'on in all and singular the p'misse, with such other knowledge and successes as shall occur in the mean season, I praye you diligently to advertise me from time to time, as the king's grace specially trusteth you.

"And were in sundry former letters and instructions

given unto Mr Boleyn and you Mr Sampson, yee were commanded to solicite and procure the speedy sending into these narrow seas of an army of 3000 men; which thing the king's grace moved and desired, only because at that time the French king prepared a great and puissant army to have bene sett to the sea, intending, if he might, to have been lord of the same; inasmuch as the same French king, upon knowledg had of the king's army by see, put in readynes, which he saw well he was not able to countervaile, hath nowe left of the setting forth and advancement of his sayd great army, not being mynded, as far as the king's grace can learne, to send out the same this yeare. The king's highnes, therefore, having as great respect to the saving of th' emperor's charges as of his owne, and rather more, being mynded to further every thing that may be to the determinac'on of the sayd charges, soe as thereby they may be the more able to make the sayd p'sonall invasion, willeth, that yee shall show unto his majestie, that for the sayd considerations he shall not neede to put himselfe to charge at this time for sending of the said 3000 men, but only to provide for the garding of those seas from the trade along the coast of Spaine, as is aforesayd, soe as the merchants and subjects of both princes and other their friends may passe to and from out of danger as shall appertaine. And hartily fare yee well. At my place besides Westminster, the 3d day of July.

"Your loving friende,

"T. Carlis. Ebor.

"To my loving frende, Mr Rich. Sampson, deane of the king's chapple, and Sir Richd. Jernyngham, knight, and king's counsellors and ambassadors with the emperor."

From Lord Surrey to Cardinal Wolsey.

" Plesith it yr. grace to be adv'tised, that upon Fridaye, at x a cl'k. at nyght, I reto'ned to this towne, and all the garrisons to their placs assigned, the bishoprick men, my lorde of Westm'land, and my lord Dacre, in likewise ev'y man home wt. their companys wtout los of any men, thanked be God, saving viij or x slayne, and dyvers hurt at skyrmishes, and saults of the towne of Gedwurth and the fortresses, whiche towne is soo severly bernt, that noo garrisons ner none other shal be lodged there unto thė tyme it be newe buylded; the burnyng therof I comytted to two sure men, Sr. Willm. Bulm' and Thomas Tempeste.

" The towne was moche better then I wot it had been, for ther was twoo tymys moor howses therin then in Berwik, and well buylded, wt. many honest and faire howses therein sufficiente to havė lodged . . horsemen in garryson, and six good towres therein, whiche towne and towres bee clerely distroyed, bernt, and throwen down. Undoubtedly ther was noo ro'men made into Scotland, in noo manys day living, wt. soo fewe a nombre, that is recownted to bee soo high an enterprice as this, bothe wt. thies contremen and Scottishmen, nor of truthe soo moche hurt doon; but in th' ende a great mysfortune did fall onely by foly that suche ordre as was com'aunded by me to be kepte was not observed, the maner whereof hereafter shall ensue.

" Before myn entre into Scotland, I appointed sir Wm. Bulmer for the vangard, and sir Wm. Evers for the reregard. In the vangard, I appointed my lorde of Westmoreland as chief wt. all the bishopricke, sir Wm. Bulm', sir Wm. Overs, my lord Dacre, wt. all his company, and wt. me remayned all the rest of the garrysons and the Northumberland men. I was of counsaile wt the m'shallis at thordering of or. lodging; and or. camp was soo well envirowned wt. ordynance carts and diks, that hard it was to entre or issue but at cer-

tain placs appointed for that purpos; and assigned the mooste com'odious place of the said campe for my lord Dacre company next the water, and next my lorde of Westm'land; and at suche tyme as my lord Dacre came into the ffeld, I being at the sault of Thabby, whiche contynued unto twoo houres w[t]in nyght, my said lord Dacre would in nowise bee contente to ly w[t]in the campe, whiche was made right sure, but lodged himself w[t]out, wherew[t]. at my retorne I was not contente; but then it was to late to remove. The next day I sent my lord Dacre to a strong hold called Fernherst, the lord whereof was his mortall enemy, and w[t]. hym sir Arthur Daren, sir Marmaduke Constable, wt. vij[c] of their men, one co'tonte, and dyvers other good pecs of ordynance for the feld. The said Fernherst stode m'velous strongly w[t]in a great woode. The said twoo kights, w[t]. the most pte of their men, and Strikland, yo[r]. graces xxxx, w[t]. iij[c]. Kendall men, went into the woode on fote, wt. ordyn'nce, where the said Kendall men were soo handled, that they found hardy men that were not foote bak for theym. The other twoo knights were alsoo soo sharply assayled, that they were enforced to call for moo of their men, and yet could not bring thordyn'nce to the fortresse, unto the tyme my lord Dacre, w[t]. part of his horsemen, lighted on fote, and m'velously herdly hymself handled; and, fynally, wt. long skyrmyshing, and moche difficultie, got forthe thordyn'ce, wan the howse, and threwe downe the same; at which skyrmyshe my said lorde Dacre, and his brother sir Christofer, and sir Arthure and sir Marmaduke, and many other gentilmen, did m'velously hardly, and found the best resistence that hath be seen since my comyng to thies p'ties, and above xxx * Scottis slayne, and not passing iiij Englishmen, but about lx hurt. After that, my said lord, retorning to the campe, wold in nowise be lodged in the same, but where he laye the first night; and he being wt. me at soup', about viij a clok, the horses of his company brak lowse, and sodenty ran out of his feld, in suche nombre

that it caused a m'velous alarvme in or. feld; and, or. standyng watche beine set, the horses com ronnyng along the campe, at whom were shot above one hundred sheif of arrowes, and dyvers gonnys, thinking they had been Scotts that wold have saulted the campe; fynally, the horses were soo madde, that they ran like wilde dere into the felde above xx at the leest in dyv's companys; and, in one place, above l fell downe a great rok, and slewe themelfes, and above ij^{m}l ran into the towne being on fire, and by the women taken and carried away right evill bernt, and many were taken agayne; but, finally, by that I can esteme, by the nombre of theym that I sawe goo on fote the next daye, I think there is lost above * * horses, and all w^t. foly, for lack of not lying w^{t}in the campe. I dare not write the wondres that my lord Dacre and all his company doo saye they sawe that nyght vi tymys of sprits and fereful sights; and unyv'sally all their company saye playnly the devil was that nyght amongs theym vi tymys, whiche mysfortune hath blemyshed the best w'men that was made in Scotland many yeres. I assure yor. grace I found the Scottes at this tyme the boldest and the hotest that ev^r. I sawe any nacion. And all the rem'dr, upon all pts of tharmy kepte us w^t. so contynuall skyrmyshe, that I nev^r. sawe the like, if they myght assemble . . as good men as I nowe sawe . . or . . it wold bee an herd encoyntre to mete theym. Pitie it is of my lord Dacres losse of the horses of his company: he brought w^t. him above . . . men, and came and lodged one night in Scotland in his most mortall enemys contre. Ther is noo herdyer ner bettir knight; but often tymes he doth not use the most sure ordre, which he hathe nowe payed deerly for. Written at Berwike, the xxvijth of Septembre.

"Yrs. most bownden,

"T. Surrey."

Cardinal Wolsey to the Bishop of London and Sir Richard Wingfield, Knt. Ambassadors in Spain.

[Orthography modernized by J. G.]

April 7, 1525.

"My lord of London and Mr Wingfield, I commend me unto you in my right hearty manner. Since your departure from hence arrived here a servant of the emperor, sent out of Spain with letters to ambassador de Praet, having order given unto him, as he affirmed, incontinently to pass unto the lady Margaret. At the despatch of him out of Spain there was no knowledge of the battle stricken in Italy; but, as I may predict by relation of the president of Malams, whom by good means I caused to disclose more of his secrets unto me than the lord Bevers hath or would do. He said letters sent unto de Praet mentioned the emperor's desire, that for as much as the French king at that time was in Italy, and to drive him out of the same the kings highness would invade on this side, offering to advance into the parts of Narbonne, on the other side, an army which should be of eight hundred of arms, five hundred light horse, seven thousand Spaniards, and four thousand Almains, besides the peasants, with artillery and ordnance requisite for the same. And that he would maintain, entertain, and continue his army in Italy, under the leading of the Duke of Bourbon and the viceroy, at his own proper costs and charges; and over the same would give aid to the king of three thousand footmen, and one thousand horsemen, out of his low countries. Notwithstanding this, the emperor's determination signified to Mons. de Praet, yet I perceive that his ambassadors here resident would first have advertised the lady Margaret hereof, before the king's highness or I should have had any knowledge of the same; to the intent, that whosoever should be concluded herein, she might have all or a great

part of the thanks. Which manner of proceeding I by good means have discovered out of the said president apart. To whom I said, that if my lady Margaret will look to have any thank in this behalf, wherein as yet hitherto she hath little or none deserved, but all that is offered is to be ascribed unto the emperor, it shall be well done that she increase the number of three thousand footmen to four thousand, and the one thousand horsemen to three thousand; and, so doing, she shall deserve special thank, advising him and his colleagues, therefore, to solicit the same. And albeit he though my lady Margaret might at length be induced thereunto, yet he thought it would be difficile for them to pass with their said aid into any part of Normandy, being so far distant from their frontiers. For avoiding of which difficulty I tould him, that percase the king would personally descend at Calais with a right good part of his army, sending the residue by sea, to make them enter into Normandy; and for so doing, me thought they could not of reason make any difficulty, but that their said aid should join with the kings highness and army in his marches of Calais; and so to pass into such places as should be thought unto his grace convenient. Which overture, as I could perceive, not only contented him, but he promised with all diligence to advertise the lady of the same, not doubting but he should have shortly from her upon the premises a good resolution. Of all which the emperor's offers and occasion aforesaid I thought convenient to advertise you, to the intent you might perceive how before the battle stricken the emperor was inclined and disposed.

" Over this there was a clause omitted in your instructions, which is to declare the king's mind, in case the emperor being contented on this resolution to invade Italy in his own person, will say it should be . . . . . from good

conscience to charge him also with entertainment of the Duke of Bourbon. Nevertheless, you know that by mouth it was agreed and thought good, that in such case, that if the emperor could in no wise be induced to the said entertainment, the Duke of Bourbon should repair unto the said aid of the Low Countries, to have the leading thereof; the same to be in that case somewhat reinforced and increased to a greater number, as to good reason and congruence doth appertain. Which matter, in case of the emperor's invasion, ye shall set forth in degrees; that is to say, first, the emperor to contribute half to the entertainment of the said duke, and the king's grace the other half; so as always the moiety to be borne by the king's grace may be defalked of such money as is due by the emperor unto the king's highness. Secondly, this failing, the king's grace, rather than fail, to bear the whole 300,000 crowns last lent unto the emperor, his majesty supporting the rest; and the same to be paid by the emperor in deduction of the said debt. And, finally, none of these then to come unto the repair of the said duke to the army in the Low Countries, as is aforesaid.

"Finally, I send unto you herewith all the commissions, letters, and copies, that were devised for your dispatch; with those of the king's, the queen's, and mine own hand. And also an emerald, which my lady princess sendeth to the emperor, whose most humble and cordial recommendations made unto the same, you at the delivery thereof shall say, that her grace hath devised this token for a better knowledge to be had when God shall send them grace to be together, whether his majesty do keep himself as continent and chaste as with God's grace she will. Whereby, you may say, his majesty may see, that her assured love towards the same hath already such a passion in her, that it is also confirmed by jealousy, being one of the greatest signs and tokens of hearty love and cordial affection. And thus I beseech Al-

mighty God to send you good speed and passage. At my palace beside Westminster, the third day of April, 1525.

" Your loving friend,

" T. CAR'LES, EBOR.

" To my loving friends, my Lord Privy Seal, and Sir Richard Wingfield, Knight of the Order, the King's Ambassadors to the Emperor."

BOOK V.

ALCHEMY.

A friend having remarked to me, that the note on alchemy would have been more complete had I quoted a few of the best authenticated cases of transmutation, I am induced to resume the subject here. But I request the reader to remember that I am only acting as a historian; of chemistry I am very ignorant, and of the scientific probability or improbability of transmutation I am no judge.

In the year 1680, a translation was published in London of a very curious and amusing story, entitled, "*The Truth of the Philosopher's Stone asserted, having been lately exposed to public Sight and Sale, being a true and exact Account of the Manner how Wenceslaus Seilerus, the late famous Projection Maker at the Emperor's Court at Vienna, come by and made away with a great Quantity of Powder of Projection, by projecting with it before the Emperor and a Thousand Witnesses, selling it, &c. for some Years past. Published at the Request and for the Satisfaction of several Curious and Ingenious, especially of Mr Boyle, &c. By one, who was not only an Eye-witness in the Affair, but also concerned as a Commissioner by the Emperor for the Examen of it.*" The story of Winceslaus is told in a lively and pleasant manner, from his discovery of the powder accidentally in a monastery in Bruna, in Moravia, till his arrival at the Imperial court. The whole is indeed romantic, and in several points not admissable to credit; but what has made me refer to the work, is a notice in

the preface, that Prince Rupert was a witness to a transmutation by projection at Frankfort; and did not question the fairness of the experiment, but only observed, that he doubted if the powder could be prepared with profit. The translator mentions, among other living persons who had been witnesses of the effects of Winceslaus' powder, Count Wallestine, and Dr Becher, then in London.

John Wolfgan Dienheim, M.D. and professor at Friburgh, mentions, that Alexander Seton, a Scotchman, born in the isle of Mull, and who was alive in 1603, transmuted metals in different parts of Germany. Sendivogius, who ranks very high as an alchemical author, Dr Soldner says, married the widow of this Seton, and obtained, along with some of the red medicine, many of the alchemist's MSS., which he published as his own works. Dr Agricola of Leipsic, in his "Commentary on Popplus," page 257, says, that he had seen transmutation performed by a monk in a convent in Italy, who transmuted 2 lbs. of lead into pure gold with a single grain of powder. He also asserts that, in 1600, he saw at Saltzburgh an Englishman (possibly Seton) transmute a quantity of tin into pure gold, which he himself sent to the mint and had coined into ducats. Markof, in his "Epistle to Langelottus," p. 152, says, "It is universally known that Edward Kelli transmuted metals into gold in the presence of the Emperor Rodolphus, and also at Prague in the house of Thaddeus Haggecius, as you may read in Gassendus' Book of Metals, chap. vii." The history of Sir Edward Kelly is similar, in some respects, to that of Winceslaus. It is reported, that he, with Dr Dee, were so strangely fortunate, "as to find a very large quantity of the elixir in some part of the ruins of Glastonbury-abbey, which was so incredibly rich in virtue (being 1 upon 272,330), that they lost much in making projection, by way of trial, before they found out the true height of the medicine."—*Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, page 481, edit.* 1652.

Sansimon, who was a tutor to the Duke d'Enghien, son of the Prince of Condé, when he was sent to Brussels, in 1648, had a powder lent to him, which, by infusion in water, gave the water the power of converting crude mercury into an aborification of pure silver; so says Olaus Borrichius. In the reign of Louis XIII., a man of the name of Dubois inherited from the heirs of the wife of the celebrated Flamel a small portion of his gold-making powder, with which he made an experiment on lead before the king and Cardinal Richelieu, pretending that he had himself discovered the art. Not, however, being able to verify his boast, and his powder being exhausted, the Cardinal ordered him to be hanged as an impostor.

But the case of Dr Price of Guilford, in the year 1782, is the most remarkable of all; and I feel no small degree of satisfaction in being able to throw some light on that very curious transaction. I quote from his own pamphlet the names of the witnesses who were present at his seven different projections.—1st experiment: present, the Rev. Mr Anderson, a clergyman residing near Guilford, himself an experimental philosopher; the celebrated antiquary, Captain Grose, a man of eminent shrewdness; Ensign Grose; Mr Russel, a magistrate of Guilford.—2d experiment: Sir Philip Norton Clarke, Dr Spence, the Rev. Mr Anderson, Captain Grose, Mr Russel, and Ensign Grose.—3d experiment: Mr Anderson, Captain and Ensign Grose, and Mr Russell.—4th experiment: the same persons.—5th experiment: the same persons, with the addition of Mr J. D. Garthwit.—6th experiment: Sir P. N. Clarke, Rev. B. Anderson, Captain Grose, Dr Spence, Ensign Grose, Mr Hallamby, Rev. Mr Manning, Mr Fulham, Mr Anderson, Mr Robeson, and Dr Spence.—7th experiment: Lord Onslow, Lord King, Lord Palmerston, Sir Robert Barker, Sir P. N. Clarke, Mr Manning, Mr Anderson, G. Pollen, J. Robeson, Dr Spence, William Mann Godschall, William Smith, Mr Godschall, jun.,

Mr Gregory, and Mr Russell. Several of these gentlemen may still be alive; they were all at the time when Dr Price published his pamphlet. He had the white and red powder, by the projection of either of which upon mercury, a greater miracle than mere transmutation was produced; mercury being kept in a red heat, even a white heat, without either boiling or evaporating! Part of the mercury was found changed into gold or silver, according to the powder employed, in the proportion of twenty to one of the powder employed, and sometimes even as high as fifty to one. There is no doubt whatever that Price practised some duplicity. In his preface, he insinuates that he made the powders himself. I have heard from one quarter, that he had stated to one of his friends that the powder cost him £17 sterling per ounce, but whether in its manufacture or purchase, the gentleman who heard this, and told me, could not say.—But what I have now to mention is certainly singular. A friend of my own, who had his information from a person acquainted with Dr Price, and who assisted him in some private experiments, told me, that Price confessed to that person that he had obtained the powders from a foreign gentleman's valet, whom he met with in the Orange coffee-house in the Haymarket; that he gave the valet a present of sixty pounds in consequence; that next day the valet left town for Dover, and in three days after his master also quitted London; that the valet was singularly well educated, and exacted from Dr Price a most solemn promise never to make a public experiment with either of the powders. The words that Price used after stating this incident were, "I am sorry that I transgressed in this essential point of my promise; but it is now too late to repent." The cause and circumstance of the doctor's death is well known.

In the "Memoirs of Huet," translated by Dr Aikin, page 26, there is an account of a transmutation of metal not dissimilar to some of those which are mentioned in other

works. I have to add, in addition to these, that I am acquainted with a gentleman, who has assured me, in the most solemn manner, that some years ago, while he resided in Dublin, he obtained a small quantity of the white powder from a friend who had remarked his incredulity of transmutation, by which he converted a quantity of mercury into a piece of silver, which he submitted to be assayed, and it was found pure and good.

But the art of the alchemists was not confined to the transmutation of metals; some of their experiments were of the opposite kind, as I find by a short pamphlet before me, entitled, "An Historical Account of a Degradation of Gold made by an Anti-elixir; a strange Chemical Narrative, by the Hon'ble Robert Boyle, 2d Edition, 1739." I should mention here, that Boyle's alchemical designation was *Pyrophilus.*—N.B. I had somehow been led to believe, that Professor Davy's discoveries had extended to the power of degrading some of the metals, but I find that I have been misinformed.

BOOK VI.

Burnet and Fiddes have published so many of the principal documents relative to the divorce of Henry and Katharine, that I think it would be superfluous to trouble the public with any more. The following original letter from the Queen to the Princess Mary serves to illustrate the simplicity and domestic character of her mind. I have added a letter from Anne Bullen to the Cardinal.

Queen Katharine to the Princess Mary.

Daughter,—I pray you think not any forgetfulness hath compelled me to keep J. Garles so long from you, and an answer to your good letter; for the which I pray ye would know how I do. I am in that case, that the long absence of the king and you troubleth me. My health is meetly good, and I trust in God he that sent me the last doth it to the best, and will shortly cause the first to come to good effect. And, in the meantime, I am very glad to hear from you, specially when they show me that you are well amended. I pray God to continue it to his pleasure. As for your writing in Latin, I am glad that ye shall . . . . maister Federston; for that shall do you much good to learn by him to write right. And yet sometimes I would be glad when ye do write to maister Federston of your own inditing, when

he hath read it that I may see it; for it shall be a great comfort to me to see you keep your Latin and fair writing. And so I pray you to recommend me to my lady of Salisbury. At Obone (*Holborn*) this Friday night.

Your loving mother,

KATHARINE THE QUEEN.

Anne Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey.

My Lord,—After my most humble commendations, this shall be to give unto your grace, as I am most bound, my humble thanks, for the great pain and travail that your grace doth take, in studying, by your wisdom and great designs, how to bring to pass honourably the greatest wealth that is possible to come to any creature living; and in especial remembering how wretched and unworthy I am in comparing to his highness. And for you, I do know myself never to have deserved by my deserts that you should take this great pain for me; yet daily of your goodness I do perceive by all my friends; and though that I had not knowledge by them, the daily proof of your deeds doth declare your words and writings toward me to be true. Now, good my lord, your discretion may consider as yet how little it is in my power to recompense you, but alonely with my good will; the which I assure you, that after this matter is brought to pass, you shall find me as I am (bound in the meantime to owe you my service); and then, look what thing in this world I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you shall find me the gladdest woman in the world to do it; and, next unto the king's grace, of one thing I make you full promise to be assured to have, and that is, my hearty love, unfeignedly, during my life; and being fully determined, with God's grace, never to change this purpose, I make an end of this my rude

and true meaned letter, praying our Lord to send you much increase of honour with long life. Written with the hand of her that beseeches your grace to accept this letter as proceeding from one that is most bound to be

Your humble and obedient servant,

ANNE BOLEYN.

BOOK VII.

In order to justify the opinion that I have expressed of the articles of impeachment against the Cardinal, it is necessary to republish them.

Articles of Impeachment exhibited against Cardinal Wolsey. Modernized by Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

1. Where your grace and noble progenitors within this realm of England, being kings of England, have been so free, that they have had in all the world no other sovereign, but immediately subject to Almighty God in all things touching the regality of your crown of England, and the same pre-eminence, prerogative, jurisdiction, lawfull and peaceable possession, your grace and noble progenitors have had, used, and enjoyed, without interruption of business, therefore by the space of two hundred years and more; whereby your grace may prescribe against the pope's holyness, that he shou'd not, nor ought not to send or make any legate, to execute any authority legantine, contrary to your grace's prerogative within this your realm: now the lord cardinal of York, being your subject, and natural liege born, hath of his high orgullows and insatiable mind, for his own singular advancement and profit, in derogation and to the great emblemishment and hurt of your said royal jurisdiction and prerogative, and the long continuance of the pos-

session of the same, obtained authority legatine: by reason whereof he has not only hurt your said prescription, but also, by the said authority legantine, hath spoil'd and taken away from many houses of religion, within this your realm, much substance of their goods, and also hath usurp'd upon all your ordinaries, within this your realm, much part of their jurisdiction, in derogation of your prerogative, and to the great hurt of your said ordinaries, prelates, and religious.

2. Also the said lord cardinal, being your ambassador in France, made a treaty with the French king for the pope, your majesty not knowing any part thereof, nor named in the same; and binding the said French king to abide his order and awarde, if any controversy or doubt shou'd arise upon the same betwixt the said pope and the French king.

3. Also the said lord cardinal, being your ambassador in France, sent a commission to Sir Gregory de Cassalis, under your great seal, in your grace's name, to conclude a treaty of amity with the Duke of Ferrara; without any commandment or warrant of your highness, nor your said highness advertis'd or made privy to the same.

4. Also the said lord cardinal, of his presumptuous mind, in divers and many of his letters and instructions, sent out of this realm to outward parts, had joyn'd himself with your grace, as in saying and writing, "The king and I wou'd ye should do thus; the king and I do give unto you our hearty thanks:" whereby it is apparent that he us'd himself more like a fellow to your highness than like a subject.

5. Also where it hath ever been accustom'd within this realm, that when noblemen do swear their household servants, the first part of their oath hath been, that they shou'd be true liege men to the king, and his heirs kings of England; the same lord cardinal caus'd his servants to be only sworn to him, as if there had been no sovereign above him.

6. And also, whereas your grace is our sovereign lord and

head, in whom standeth all the surety and wealth of this realm ; the same lord cardinal, knowing himself to have the fowl and contagious disease of the great pox broken out upon him in divers places of his body, came dayly to your grace, rownding in your ears, and blowing upon your most noble grace with his perilous and infective breath, to the marvellous danger of your highness, if God of his infinite goodness had not better provided for your highness; and when he was once healed of them, he made your grace to believe, that his disease was an impostume in his head, and no other thing.

7. Also the said lord cardinal, by his authority legatine, hath given by prevention the benefices of divers persons, as well spiritual and temporal, contrary to your crown and dignity, and your laws and statutes therefore provided; by reason whereof, he is in danger to your grace of forfeiture of his lands and goods, and his body at your pleasure.

8. Also the lord cardinal, taking upon him otherwise than a true counsellor ought to do, hath us'd to have all embassadors come first to him alone, and so hearing their charges and intents, 'tis to be thought he hath instructed them after his pleasure and purpose, before that they came to your presence, contrary to your high commandment by your grace's mouth to him given, and also to other persons sent to him by your grace.

9. And also the lord cardinal hath practis'd so, that all manner of letters sent from beyond the sea to your highness hath come first to his hands, contrary to your high commandment by your own mouth, and also by others sent to him by your grace ; by reason whereof your highness, nor any of your council, had knowledge of no matters but of such as it pleased him to shew them ; whereby your highness and council have been compelled, of very force, to follow his devices, which oftentimes were set forth by him under such crafty and covert meanings, that your highness and

your oouncil have oftentimes been abus'd, insomuch that when your council have found and put divers doubts and things, which afterwards have ensued; he, to abuse them, used these words, "I will lay my head that no such thing shall happen."

10. And the said lord cardinal hath practis'd, that no manner of persons, having charge to make espial of things done beyond the sea, should, at their return, come first to your grace, nor to any other of your council, but only to himself; and in case they did the contrary, he punish'd them there for so doing.

11. Also the said lord cardinal hath granted licenses under your great seal for carrying out of grain and other victuals, after the restraint hath been made thereof, for his own lucre and singular advantage of him and his servants, for to send thither, as he bare secret favour, without your grace's warrant or knowledge thereof.

12. Also the said lord cardinal us'd many years together, not only to write unto all your embassadors resident with other princes in his own name, all advertisements concerning your grace's affairs being in their charge; and, in the same his letters, wrote many things of his own mind, without your grace's pleasure known, concealing divers things which had been necessary for them to know; but also caus'd them to write their advertisements unto him; and of the same letters he us'd to conceal, for the compassing of his purpose, many things both from all your other counsellors and from yourself also.

13. And where good hospitals hath been us'd to be kept in houses and places of religion of this realme, and many poor people thereby relieved, the said hospitality and relief is now decay'd and not us'd; and it is commonly reported that the occasion thereof is, because the said lord cardinal hath taken such impositions of the rulers of the said houses,

as well for his favour in making of abbots and priors, as for his visitation by his authority legantine; and yet nevertheless taketh yearly of such religious houses such yearly and continual charges, as they be not able to keep hospitality as they were used to do; which is a great cause that there be so many vagabonds, beggars, and thieves.

14. And where the same said lord cardinal said, before the suppression of such houses as he hath suppress'd, that the possessions of them should be sett to farm among your lay subjects, after such reasonable yearly rent as they shou'd well thereupon live and keep good hospitality; now the demesne possession of the same houses since the suppression of them hath been survey'd, mete, and measur'd by the acre, and be now set above the value of the old rent; and also such as were farmers by covent seal and copyholders be put out and amoved of their farms, or else compell'd to pay new fine, contrary to all equity and conscience.

15. Also the said lord cardinal, sitting among the lords and others of your most honourable privy council, used himself, that if any man wou'd shew his mind, according to his duty, contrary to the opinion of the said cardinal, he would so take him up with his accustomable words, that they were better to hold their peace than to speak, so that he would hear no man speak but one or two great personages, so that he would have all the words himself, and consum'd much time with a fair tale.

16. Also the said lord cardinal, by his ambition and pride, hath hinder'd and undone many of your poor subjects for want of dispatchment of matters, for he wou'd no man should meddle but himself; insomuch that it hath been affirmed by many wise men, that ten of the most wise and most expert men in England were not sufficient in convenient time to order the matters that he wou'd retain to himself; and many times he deferr'd the ending of matters, be-

cause that suiters shou'd attend and wait upon him, whereof he had no small pleasure, that his house might be replenish'd with suiters.

17. Also the said lord cardinal, by his authority legatine, hath us'd, if any spiritual man having any riches or substance, deceas'd, he hath taken their goods as his own, by reason whereof their wills be not perform'd; and one mean he had to put them in fear that were made executors to refuse to meddle.

18. Also the said lord cardinal constrain'd all ordinaries in England yearly to compound with him, or else he will usurp half or the whole of their jurisdiction by prevention, not for good order of the diocess, but to extort treasure; for there is never a poor archdeacon in England, but that he paid yearly to him a portion of his living.

19. Also the said lord cardinal hath not only by his untrue suggestion to the pope shamefully slander'd many good religious houses, and good virtuous men dwelling in them, but also suppress'd, by reason thereof, above thirty houses of religion. And where by authority of this bull, he shou'd not suppress any house that had more men of religion in number, above the number of six or seven, he hath suppress'd divers houses that had above the number; and thereupon hath caus'd divers offices to be found by verdict untruly, that the religious persons so suppress'd had voluntarily forsaken their said houses, which was untrue, and so hath caus'd open perjury to be committed, to the high displeasure of Almighty God.

20. Also the said lord cardinal hath examin'd diverse and many matters in the Chancery, after judgment thereof given at the common law, in subversion of your laws, and made some persons restore again to the other party condemn'd that they had in execution by virtue of the judgment of the common law.

21. Also the said lord cardinal hath granted many injunc-

tions by writt, and the parties never call'd thereunto, nor bill put in against them; and by reason thereof divers of your subjects have been put from their lawfull possession of their lands and tenements. And by such means he hath brought the more party of the suiters of this your realm before himself; whereby he and divers of his servants hath gotten much riches, and your subjects suffer'd great wrongs.

22. Also the said lord cardinal, to augment his great riches, hath caus'd divers pardons granted by the pope to be suspended, which cou'd not be reviv'd till the said lord cardinal was rewarded, and also had a yearly pension of the said pardon.

23. Also the said lord cardinal, not regarding your laws nor justice, of his extort power hath put out divers and many farmers of his lands, and also patentees of the archbishoprick of York and of the bishoprick of Winchester, and of the abbey of St Albans, which had good and sufficient grant thereof by your laws.

24. Also the same lord cardinal, at many times when any houses of religion hath been void, hath sent his officers thither, and with crafty perswasions hath induced them to compromit their election in him; and before he nam'd or confirm'd any of them, he and his servants receiv'd so much great goods of them, that in a manner it hath been to the undoing of the house.

25. Also, by his authority legantine, the same lord cardinal hath visited the most part of the religious houses and colleges of this your realm, and hath taken from them the twenty-fifth part of their livelyhood, to the great extortion of your subjects, and derogation of your laws and prerogative, and no law hath been to bear him so to do.

26. Also, when matters have been near a judgment by process of your common law, the same lord cardinal hath not only given and sent injunctions to the parties, but also sent for your judges, and expressly by threats commanded

them to deferr the judgment, to the evident subversion of your laws, if the judges wou'd so have ceas'd.

27. And whereas neither the Bishop of York, nor Winchester, nor the abbey of St Albans, nor the profit of his legation, nor the benefit of the Chancery, nor his great pension out of France, nor his wards and other inordinate taking, cou'd suffice him, he hath made his son Winter to spend seven and twenty hundred pounds by the year, which he taketh to his own use, and giveth him not past two hundred pounds yearly to live upon.

28. Also, whereas the said lord cardinal did first sue unto your grace to have your assent to the legate de latere, promising and solemnly protesting before your majesty, and before the lords both spiritual and temporal, that he wou'd nothing do nor attempt by the virtue of his legacie contrary to your gracious prerogative or regality, or to the dammage or prejudice of the jurisdiction of any ordinary, and that by his legacie no man shou'd be hurt nor offended; and upon that condition, and no other, he was admitted by your grace to be legate within this your realm: this condition he hath broken, and is well known to all your subjects. And when that he made this promise, he was busie in his suit at Rome to visit all the clergy of England both exempt and not exempt.

29. Also, upon the suit of the said lord cardinal at Rome to have his authority legantine, he made untrue surmise to the pope's holiness against the clergy of your realm; which was, that the regular persons of the said clergy had given themselves in *reprobum sensum*; which words St Paul, writing to the Romans, applied to abominable sin; which slander to your church of England shall for ever remain in the register at Rome against the clergy of this your realm.

30. Also, the said lord cardinal had the more part of the goods of Dr Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, Bishop Savage of York, Master Dalbye, archdeacon of Richmond, Master

Tonyers, Dr Rothall, late bishop of Durham, and of Dr Fox, late bishop of Winchester, contrary to their wills, and your laws and justice.

31. Also, at the Oyer and Terminer of York, proclamation was made that every man shou'd put in their bills for extortion of ordinaries: and when divers bills were put in against the officers of the said lord cardinal of extortion, for taking twelvepence of the pound for probation of testaments, whereof divers bills were found before Justice Fitz Herbert and other commissioners, the said lord cardinal removed the said indictments into the Chancery by certiorari, and rebuk'd the said Fitz Herbert for the same cause.

32. Also the said lord cardinal hath busied himself, and endeavour'd, by crafty and untrue tales, to make dissention and debate amongst your nobles of the realm, which is ready to be prov'd.

33. Also the said lord cardinal's officers hath divers times compell'd your subjects to serve him with carts for carriage, and also his servants hath taken both corn and cattle, fish, and all other victual, at your grace's price, or under, as tho' it had been for your grace, which is contrary to your laws.

34. Also the said lord cardinal hath misus'd himself in your most honourable court, in keeping of as great estate there in your absence, as your grace would have done if you had been there present in your own person.

35. Also, his servants, by virtue of your commission under your broad seal by him to them given, have taken cattle and all other victual, at as low a price as your purveyors have done for your grace by your prerogative, against the laws of your realm.

36. Also, where it hath been accustom'd, that your purveyors for your honourable household have had yearly out of your town and liberty of St Albans three or four hundred quarters of wheat; truth it is, that since the lord cardinal had the room of abbot, your said purveyors cou'd not be

suffer'd by him and his officers to take any wheat within the said town or liberties

37. Also, he hath divers times given injunction to your servants, that have been for causes before him in the Star Chamber, that they, nor other for them, shou'd make labour by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, to your grace, to obtain your grace's favour or pardon, which was a presumptuous intent for any subject.

38. Also the said lord cardinal did call before him Sir John Stanley, Knight, which had taken a farm by covent-seal of the abbot and convent of Chester, and afterwards by his power and might, contrary to right, committed the said Sir John Stanley to the prison of Fleet by the space of one year, unto such time as he compell'd the said Sir John to release his covent-seal to one Leghe of Adlington, which married one Lark's daughter, which woman the said lord cardinal kept, and had with her two children: * whereupon the said Sir John Stanley, upon displeasure taken in his heart, made himself monk in Westminster, and there died.

39. Also, on a time your grace being at St Albans, according to the ancient custom us'd within your verge, your clerk of the mercat doing his office, did present unto your officers of your most honourable household the prices of all manner of victuals within the precinct of the verge. And 'twas commanded by your said officers to set up the said prices both on the gates of your honourable household, and also within the market-place in the town of St Albans, as of ancient custom it hath been us'd. And the lord cardinal, hearing the same, presumptuously, and not like a subject, caus'd the aforesaid prices, which were seal'd with your grace's seal, accustomably us'd for the same, to be taken off,

* I have not been able to learn what became of his son; but, by a letter in the British Museum, his daughter appears to have been a nun in a convent in Shaftesbury.

and pull'd down in the said market-place where they were set up, and in the same places set up his own prices seal'd with his seal, and wou'd, if it had not been letted, in semblable manner have us'd your seal standing upon your gates: and also would of his presumptuous mind have openly set in the stocks within your said town your clerk of your market: by which presumption and usurpation your grace may perceive that in his heart he hath reputed himself to be equal with your royal majesty.

40. Also the said lord cardinal, of his further pompous and presumptuous mind, hath enterpriz'd to joyn and imprint the cardinal's hat under your arms in your coin of groats made at your city of York, which like deed hath not been seen to have been done by any subject within your realm before this time.

41. Also, where one Sir Ed. Jones, clerk, parson of Crowley, in the county of Bucks, in the eighteenth year of your most noble reign, let his said parsonage, with all tythes and other profits of the same, to one William Johnson, by indenture for certain years, within which years the dean of the said cardinal's college in Oxford pretended title to a certain portion of tythes within the said parsonage, supposing the said portion to belong to the parsonage of Chichelly, which was appropriated to the priory of Tykeford lately suppress'd, where (of truth) the parsons of Crowley have been peaceably possess'd of the said portion time out of mind; whereupon a subpœna was directed to the said Johnson to appear before the said lord cardinal at Hampton-court, out of any term, with an injunction to suffer the said dean to occupy the said portion. Whereupon the said Johnson appear'd before the said lord cardinal at Hampton-court, where, without any bill, the said lord cardinal committed him to the Fleet, where he remain'd by the space of twelve weeks, because he wou'd not depart with the said portion. And, at the last, upon a recognizance made that he shou'd appear before the

said lord cardinal whensoever he was commanded, he was deliver'd out of the Fleet; howbeit as yet the said portion is so kept from him that he dare not deal with it.

42. Also, where one Martin Docowra had a lease of the mannor of Balsall, in the county of Warwick, for term of certain years, an injunction came to him out of the Chancery by writ, upon pain of a thousand pounds, that he shou'd avoid the possession of the same mannor, and suffer Sir George Throckmorton, Knight, to take the profits of the same mannor to the time the matter depending in the Chancery between the lord of St John's and the said Docowra was discuss'd. And yet the said Docowra never made answer in the Chancery, ne ever was call'd into the Chancery for that matter; and now of late he hath receiv'd a like injunction upon pain of two thousand pounds, contrary to the course of common law.

43. Also, whereas in the parliament chamber, and in open parliament, communication and devices were had and mov'd, wherein mention was by an incident made of matters touching heresies and erroneous sects: it was spoken and reported by one bishop there being present, and confirm'd by a good number of the same bishops, in presence of all the lords spiritual and temporal then assembled, that two of the said bishops were minded and desir'd to repair unto the university of Cambridge for examination, reformation, and correction, of such errors as then seem'd, and were reported to reign among the students and scholars of the same, as well touching the Lutheran sect and opinions as otherwise: the lord cardinal, inform'd of the good minds and intents of the said two bishops in that behalf, expressly inhibited and commanded them in no wise so to do. By means whereof, the same errors, as they affirm'd, crept more abroad, and took greater place; saying, furthermore, that 'twas not in their defaults that the said heresies were not punished, but in the

said lord cardinal, and that 'twas no reason any blame or lack shou'd be arrected to them for his offence. Whereby it evidently appeareth, that the said lord cardinal, besides all other his heinous offences, hath been the impeacher and disturber of due and direct correction of heresies, being highly to the danger and peril of the whole body, and good Christian people of this your realm.

44. Finally, forasmuch as by the aforesaid articles is evidently declar'd to your most royal majesty, that the lord cardinal, by his outrageous pride, hath greatly shadowed a long season your grace's honour, which is most highly to be regarded, and, by his insatiable avarice and ravenous appetite to have riches and treasure without measure, hath so grievously oppress'd your poor subjects with so manifold crafts of bribery and extortion, that the commonwealth of this your grace's realm is thereby greatly decayed and impoverished: and also by his cruelty, iniquity, affection, and partiality, hath subverted the due course and order of your grace's laws to the undoing of a great number of your loving people.

Please it your most royal majesty therefore, of your excellent goodness towards the weal of this your realm and subjects of the same, to set such order and direction upon the said lord cardinal, as may be to the terrible example of others to beware so to offend your grace and your laws hereafter: and that he be so provided for, that he never have any power, jurisdiction, or authority, hereafter, to trouble, vex, and impoverish, the commonwealth of this your realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the great hurt and damage of every man almost high and low, which for your grace so doing will daily pray, as their duty is, to Almighty God for the prosperous estate of your most royal majesty, long to endure in honour and good health, to the pleasure of God, and your heart's most desire.

Subscribed the first day of December, the 21st year of

the reign of our sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth.

T. More.	T. Rochford.
T. Norfolk.	T. Darcy.
C. Suff.	W. Mountjoy.
T. Dorset.	W. Sandys.
H. Oxen.	W. Fitzwilliam.
John Oxonford.	Henry Guldeford.
H. Northumberland.	Anthony Fitzherbert.
G. Shrewsbury.	John Fitzjames.
R. Fitzwater.	

Copy of a Letter to Mr Cromwell, in relation to a Bastard Daughter of Cardinal Wolsey's, in the Nunnery of Shaftsbury.

Ryghte hon'able,—Aftr most humbyll comendacyons, I lykewyse beseeche you, that the contents of this my symple lett. may be secret, and that for asmyche as I have grete cause to go home, I beseech your good mast'shipe to comand Mr Herytag to give atendans opon your mast'shipe for the knowlege of your plesure in the sayd secrete mat', whiche ys this; my lord cardinall caused me to put a yong gentyll woman to the monystery and nu'ry off Shafftysbyry, and there to be p'fessyd, and wold hur to be namyd my doythter, and the troythe ys, she was his dowythter, and now by yo^r^. visitacyon she hathe comawyment to dep'te, and knowythe not whether; wherefore I humbly beseeche youre mast'shipe to dyrect yo^r^. letter to the abbas there, that she may there co'tynu, at hur full age to be p'fessid.

W^t^owte dowyte she ys ether xxiiij yere full, or shal be at shuche tyme of the yere as she was boren, which was abowyte Myclelmas. In this yo^r^. doyng, yo^r^. mastershipe shall do a

very charitable ded, and also bynd hur and me to do you such s'vyce as lythe in owre lytell powers, as knowythe owrę Lord God, whome I humely beseeche p'speryusly and longe to p's've you.

Your orator,

John Clusey.

To the rygthe hon'abull and his most especiall good Mr Master Cromell, secretary to owre sov'an' the Kyng.

THE END

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